THE

BLOVDY TENENT,

of PERSECUTION, for cause of CONSCIENCE, discussed, in

A Conference *betweene*

TRVTH and PEACE.

VVHO,

In all tender Affection, present to the High Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of their *Discourse*) these, (amongst other *Passages*) of *highest consideration*.

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FIrſt, That the blood of ſo many hundred thouſand ſouls of *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, ſpilt in the *Wars* of *preſent* and *former Ages*, for their reſpective *Conſciences*, is not *required* nor *accepted* by *Ieſus Chriſt* the *Prince* of *Peace*.

Secondly, Pregnant *Scriptures* and *Arguments* are throughout the Worke propoſed againſt the *Doctrine* of *Perſecution* for for *cauſe* of *Conſcience*.

Thirdly, Satisfactorie Anſwers are given to *Scriptures*, and *objections* produced by Mr. *Calvin*, *Beza*, Mr. *Cotton*, and the Miniſters of the New Engliſh Churches, and others former and later, tending to prove the *Doctrine* of *Perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*.

Fourthly, The *Doctrine* of *Perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*, is proved guilty of all the *blood* of the *Soules* crying for *vengeance* under the *Altar*.

Fifthly, All *Civill States* with their *Officers* of *justice* in their respective *constitutions* and *administrations* are proved *essentially Civill*, and therefore not *Iudges*, *Governours* or *Defendours* of the *Spirituall* or *Christian state* and *Worship*.

Sixthly, It is the will and command of *God*, that since the comming of his Sonne the *Lord Iesus*) a *permission* of the most *Paganish*, *Jewish*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian consciences* and *worships*, bee granted to *all* men in all *Nations* and *Countries*: and they are onely to bee *fought* against with that *Sword* which is only (in *Soule matters*) *able* to *conquer*, to wit, the *Sword* of *Gods Spirit*, the *Word* of *God*.

Seventhly, The *state* of the Land of *Israel*, the *Kings* and *people* thereof in *Peace* & *War*, is proved *figurative* and *ceremoniall*, and no *patterne* nor *president* for any *Kingdom* or *civill state* in the *world* to follow.

Eightly, *God* requireth not an *uniformity*

of

of *Religion* to be *inacted* and *inforced* in any *civill ſtate*; which inforced *uniformity* (ſooner or later) is the greateſt occaſion of *civill Warre*, *raviſhing* of *conſcience*, *perſecution* of *Chriſt Ieſus* in his ſervants, and of the *hypocriſie* and *deſtruction* of *millions* of *ſouls*.

Ninthly, In holding an inforced *uniformity* of *Religion* in a *civill ſtate*, we muſt neceſſarily *diſclaime* our deſires and hopes of the *Iewes converſion* to *Chriſt*.

Tenthly, An inforced *uniformity* of *Religion* throughout a *Nation* or *civill ſtate*, confounds the *Civill* and *Religious*, denies the principles of Chriſtianity and civility, and that *Ieſus Chriſt* is come in the Fleſh.

Eleventhly, The permiſſion of other *conſciences* and *worſhips* then a ſtate profeſſeth, only can (according to God) procure a firme and laſting *peace*, (good *aſſurance* being taken according to the *wiſdome* of the *civill ſtate* for *uniformity* of *civill obedience* from all ſorts.)

Twelfthly, lastly, true *civility* and *Christianity* may both flourish in a *State* or *Kingdome*, notwithstanding the *permission* of divers and contrary *consciences*, either of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

TO

To the Right Honorable, both Houſes of the High Court of *PARLIAMENT.*

Right Honourable and Renowned Patriots:

NExt to the ſaving of your own *ſoules* (in the lamentable *ſhipwrack* of *Mankind*) your taske (as *Chriſtians*) is to ſave the *Soules*, but as *Magiſtrates*, the *Bodies* and *Goods* of others.

Many excellent *Diſcourſes* have been preſented to your *Fathers* hands and Yours in former and preſent *Parliaments*: I ſhall be humbly bold to ſay, that (in what concernes your duties as *Magiſtrates*, towards others) a more neceſſary and ſeaſonable *debate* was never yet preſented.

Two things your *Honours* here may pleaſe to view (in this Controverſie of *Perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*) beyond what's extant.

Firſt the whole *Body* of this *Controverſie* form'd & pitch'd in true *Battalia*.

Secondly (although in reſpect of my ſelfe it be *impar congreſſus*, yet in the power of that *God* who is *Maximus in Minimis*, Your Honours ſhall ſee the Controverſie is diſcuſſed with men as able as moſt, eminent for *abilitie* and *pietie*, Mr. *Cotton*, and the *New Engliſh Miniſters*.

When the *Prophets* in Scripture have given their *Coats of Armes* and *Eſcutcheons* to *Great Men*, Your *Honours* know the *Babylonian Monarch* hath the *Lyon*, the *Perſian* the *Beare*, the *Grecian* the *Leopard*, the *Romane* a *compound* of the former 3. moſt ſtrange and dreadfull, *Dan.* 7.

The ir

Their oppreſſing, plundring, raviſhing, murthering, not only of the *bodies*, but the *ſoules* of Men are large explaining *commentaries* of ſuch ſimilitudes.

Your *Honours* have been famous to the end of the World, for your unparallel'd *wiſdome*, *courage*, *juſtice*, *mercie*, in the vindicating your Civill *Lawes*, *Liberties*, &c. Yet let it not be grievous to your *Honours* thoughts to ponder a little, why all the *Prayers* and *Teares* and *Faſtings* in this Nation have not pierc'd the *Heavens*, and quench'd theſe *Flames*, which yet who knowes how far they'll ſpread, and when they'll out!

Your *Honours* have broke the jawes of the *Oppreſſour*, and taken the prey out of their Teeth (*Iob.29.*) For which Act I believe it hath pleaſed the moſt High *God* to ſet a *Guard* (not only of Trained men, but) of mighty *Angels*, to ſecure your ſitting, and the Citie.

I feare we are not *pardoned*, though *reprieved*: O that there may be a lengthning of *Londons* tranquilitie, of the *Parliaments* ſafetie, by *mercy* to the *poore*! Dan.4.

Right Honourable, *Soule yokes*, *Soule oppreſſions*, *plundrings*, *raviſhings*, *&c.* are of a *crimſon* and *deepeſt dye*, and I believe the chiefe of *Englands* ſins, unſtopping the Viols of *Englands* preſent ſorrowes.

This glaſſe preſents your *Honours* with *Arguments* from *Religion*, *Reaſon*, *Experience*, all proving that the greateſt yoakes yet lying upon *Engliſh necks*, (the *peoples* and Your *own*) are of a *ſpirituall* and *ſoule* nature.

All former *Parliaments* have changed theſe yoakes according to their *conſciences* (*Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*) 'Tis now your *Honours* turne at *helme*, and (as your *task*, ſo I hope your *reſolution*, not to change (for that is but to turne the wheele, which another *Parliament*, and the very next may turne againe:) but to eaſe the Subjects and Your ſelves from a *yoake* (as was once ſpoke in a caſe not unlike *Act* 15.) which neither You nor your Fathers were ever able to beare.

Moſt

Moſt *Noble Senatours*, Your *Fathers* (whoſe *ſeats* You fill) are mouldred, and mouldring their *braines*, their *tongues*, &c. to *aſhes* in the pit of *rotteneſſe*: They and You muſt ſhortly (together with two *worlds* of men) appeare at the great *Barre*: It ſhall then be no griefe of heart that you have now attended to the *cries* of *Soules*, *thouſands oppreſſed*, *millions raviſhed* by the *Acts* and *Statutes* concerning *Soules*, not yet *repealed*.

Of *Bodies impoveriſhed*, *impriſoned*, &c. for their *ſoules* beliefe, yea ſlaughtered on heapes for *Religions* controverſies in the *Warres* of preſent and former Ages.

"Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſe of later times, (wherein "ſundry opinions have been hatched about the ſubject of *Re-*"*ligion*) a man may clearly diſcerne with his eye, and as it "were touch with his finger that according to the verity of "holy Scriptures, &c. mens *conſciences* ought in no ſort to be "violated, urged or conſtrained. And whenſoever men have "attempted any thing by this violent courſe, whether openly "or by ſecret meanes, the iſſue hath beene pernicious, and the "cauſe of great and *wonderfull innovations* in the principalleſt "and mightieſt *Kingdomes* and *Countries*, &c.

The famous ſaying of a late King of Bohemia.

It cannot be denied to be a pious and prudentiall *act* for Your *Honours* (according to your conſcience) to call for the advice of faithfull *Councellours* in the high debates concerning Your owne, and the ſoules of others.

Yet let it not be imputed as a *crime* for any *ſuppliant* to the *God* of *Heaven* for You, if in the humble ſenſe of what their ſoules beleeve, they powre forth (amongſt others) theſe three *requeſts* at the *Throne* of *Grace*.

Firſt, That neither Your *Honours*, nor thoſe excellent and worthy perſons, whoſe advice you ſeek, limit the holy *One* of *Iſrael* to their *apprehenſions*, *debates*, *concluſions*, rejecting or neglecting the humble and faithfull ſuggeſtions of any, though as baſe as ſpittle and clay, with which ſometimes *Chriſt Ieſus* opens the *eyes* of them that are borne blinde.

Secondly, That the preſent and future *generations* of the Sons of Men may never have cauſe to ſay that ſuch a *Parliament* (as *England* never enjoyed the like) ſhould modell the *worſhip* of the *living*, *eternall* and *inviſible God* after the *Bias* of any earthly *intereſt*, though of the higheſt concernment under the Sunne: And yet, ſaith that learned Sir *Francis Bacon* (how ever otherwiſe perſwaded, yet thus he confeſſeth:) " Such as " hold *preſſure* of *Conſcience*, are guided therein by ſome pri- " vate *intereſts* of their owne.

Eſſay of Religion.

Thirdly, What ever way of *worſhipping God* Your owne *Conſciences* are perſwaded to walke in, yet (from any bloody *act* of violence to the conſciences of others) it may bee never told at *Rome* nor *Oxford*, that the *Parliament* of *England* hath committed a greater *rape*, then if they had forced or raviſhed the bodies of all the women in the *World*.

It is rarely ſeen that ever perſons were perſecuted for their conſcience, but by ſuch perſecution they were confirmed and hardned in their conſcience.

And that *Englands Parliament* (ſo famous throughout all Europe and the World) ſhould at laſt turne *Papiſts*, *Prelatiſts*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Socinians*, *Familiſts*, *Antinomians*, &c. by confirming all theſe ſorts of Conſciences, by Civill force and violence to their Conſciences.

To

To every Courteous Reader.

WHile I plead the Cause of *Truth* and *Innocencie* against the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *conscience*, I judge it not unfit to give *alarme* to my selfe, and all men to prepare to be *persecuted* or hunted for cause of *conscience*.

Whether thou standest charged with 10 or but 2 *Talents*, if thou hunt'st any for cause of *conscience*, how canst thou say thou follow'st the *Lambe* of *God* who so abhorr'd that practice?

If *Paul*, if *Jesus Christ* were present here at *London*, and the *question* were proposed what *Religion* would they approve of: The *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. would each say, Of mine, of mine.

But put the second question, if one of the severall sorts should by *major vote* attaine the *Sword* of steele: what weapons doth Christ Jesus authorize them to fight with in His cause? Doe not all men hate the *persecutor*, and every *conscience* true or false complaine of cruelty, tyranny? &c.

Two *mountaines* of crying *guilt* lye heavie upon the backes of All that name the name of *Christ* in the eyes of *Jewes*, *Turkes* and *Pagans*.

First, The blasphemies of their *Idolatrous inventions*, *superstitions*, and most *unchristian conversations*.

Secondly, The bloody irreligious and inhumane *oppressions* and *destructions* under the maske or vaile of the Name of *Christ*, &c.

O how like is the *jealous Jehovah*, the consuming fire to end these present *slaughters* in a greater slaughter of the holy Witnesses? *Rev.* 11.

Six yeares preaching of so much Truth of *Christ* (as that time afforded in K. *Edwards* dayes) kindles the flames of Q. *Maries* bloody *persecutions*.

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of yeares *preaching* and *professing* of more *Truth*, and amongst so many great *contentions* amongst the very best of *Protestants*, a fierie furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the *fires* kindling?

Secondly, That the present and future *generations* of the Sons of Men may never have cause to say that such a *Parliament* (as *England* never enjoyed the like) should modell the *worship* of the *living*, *eternall* and *invisible God* after the *Mind* of any earthly *interest*, though of the highest concernment under the Sunne: And yet, saith that learned Sir *Francis Bacon* (how ever otherwise perswaded, yet thus he confesseth:) " Such as " hold *pressure* of *Conscience*, are guided therein by some pri- " vate *interests* of their owne.

Essay of Religion.

Thirdly, What ever way of *worshipping God* Your owne *Consciences* are perswaded to walke in, yet (from any bloody *act* of violence to the consciences of others) it may bee never told at *Rome* nor *Oxford*, that the *Parliament* of *England* hath committed a greater *rape*, then if they had forced or ravished the bodies of all the women in the *World*.

It is rarely seen that ever persons were persecuted for their conscience, but by such persecution they were confirmed and hardned in their conscience.

And that *Englands Parliament* (so famous throughout all Europe and the World) should at last turne *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Socinians*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, &c. by confirming all these sorts of Consciences, by Civill force and violence to their Consciences.

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I confesse I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this Discourse against the *doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *conscience* should passe currant (I say not amongst the *Wolves* and *Lions*, but even amongst the *Sheep* of *Christ* themselves) yet *Libravi animam meam*, I have not hid within my *breast* my *souls* belief: And although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sinne thou thinkest thy conscience bound to smite at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the middest of all these *civill* and *spirituall Wars* (I hope we shall agree in these particulars.)

First, how ever the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) orelooke the poore and cry out *Schismatickes*, *Hereticks*, &c. shall *blasphemers* and *seducers* scape unpunished? &c. Yet there is a sorer punishment in the *Gospel* for despising of *Christ* then *Moses*, even when the despiser of *Moses* was put to death without mercie, *Heb.* 10, 28, 29. He that beleeveth not shall bee damned, *Marke* 16. 16.

Secondly, what ever Worship, Ministry, Ministration, the best and purest are practised without *faith* and true perswasion that they are the true institutions of God, they are sin, sinfull worships, Ministries, &c. And however in Civill things we may be servants unto men, yet in Divine and Spirituall things the poorest *peasant* must disdaine the service of the highest *Prince*: Be ye not the servants of men, 1 Cor. 14.

Thirdly, without search and triall no man attaines this faith and right perswasion, 1 *Thes.* 5. Try all things.

In vaine have *English Parliaments* permitted *English Bibles* in the poorest *English* houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soules perswasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in *Spaine* or *Rome* it selfe without the sight of a *Bible*) to beleeve as the Church beleeves.

Fourthly, having tried, we must hold fast, 1 *Thessal.* 5. upon the losse of a Crowne, *Revel.* 13. we must not let goe for all the fleabitings of the present afflictions, &c. having bought Truth deare, we must not sell it cheape, not the least graine of it for the whole World, no not for the saving of Soules, though our owne most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetning of a little vanishing pleasure.

For

For a little puffe of credit and reputation from the changeable breath of uncertaine ſons of men.

For the broken bagges of Riches on Eagles wings : For a dreame of theſe, any or all of theſe which on our death-bed vaniſh and leave tormenting ſtings behinde them : Oh how much better is it from the love of Truth, from the love of the Father of lights, from whence it comes, from the love of the Sonne of God, who is the way and the Truth, to ſay as he, *John* 18.37. For this end was I borne, and for this end came I into the World that I might beare witneſſe to the Truth.

A Table of the principall Contents of the Booke.

Truth and Peace their rare and seldome meeting. Page 15
2 *Great complaints of Peace.* 16
Persecutors seldome plead Christ *but* Moses *for their Author.* 17
Strife Christian and unchristian. Ibid
A threefold doleful cry. ibid.
The wonderfull providence of God in the writing of the arguments against persecution. 18
A definition of persecution discussed. 19
Conscience will not be restrained from its owne worship, nor constrained to another. 20
A chaste soule in Gods worship, compared to a chaste wife. Ibid.
Gods people have erred from the very fundamentalls of visible worship. ibid
4 *Sorts of spirituall foundations in the New Testament.* 21
The 6 fundamentalls of the Christian Religion. ibid.
The comming out of Babel not locall, but mysticall. ibid.
The great ignorance of Gods people concerning the nature of a true Church. ibid.
Common-Prayer written against by the New English Ministers. 23
Gods people have worshipped God with false worships. ibid.
God is pleased sometimes to convey good unto his people beyond a promise. ibid.
A notable speech of King James *to a great Nonconformist turned persecutor.* 24
Civill peace discussed. ibid.
The difference between Spirituall and civill state. 25
Six cases wherein Gods people have been usually accounted arrogant, and peace breakers, but most unjustly 26
The true causes of breach and disturbance of civill peace. 29
A prepostorous way of suppressing errours. 30
Persecutors must needs oppresse both erroneous and true consciences. ibid.
All persecutors of Christ professe not to persecute him. ibid.

What

What is meant by the Heretick. Tit. 3. Pag. 33
The word Heretick generally mistaken. 34
Corporall killing in the Law, typing out Spirituall killing in the Gospell. 36
The cariage of a Soule sensible of mercy, towards others in their blindnesse, &c. 38
The difference between the Church, and the World wherein it is, in all places. 38
The Church and civill State confusedly made all one. 39
The most peaceable accused for peace-breaking. 40
A large Examination of what is meant by the Tares, and letting of them alone. ibid.
Sathans subtletie about the opening of Scripture. 41
Two sorts of Hypocrites, 44
The Lord Jesus the great Teacher by Parables, and the only Expounder of them. 44
Preaching for conversion is properly out of the Church. 45
The tares proved properly to signifie Antichristians. ibid.
Gods Kingdome on Earth the visible Church. 46
The difference between the Wheat and the Tares, as also betweene these Tares and all others. 46
A civill Magistracie from the beginning of the world. 47
The Tares are to be tolerated the longest of all sinners. 48
The danger of infection by permitting of the Tares, assoyled. ibid.
The civill Magistrate not so particularly spoken to in the New Testament as Fathers, Masters, &c. and why. 50
A two-fold state of Christianitie; Persecuted under the Romane Emperours, and Apostated under the Romane Popes. ibid.
3 *Particulars contained in that prohibition of Christ Jesus concerning the Tares,* Let them alone, Mat. 13. 51
Accompanying with Idolaters, 1 Cor. 5. *discussed.* 52
Civill Magistrates never invested by Christ Jesus with the power and title of Defenders of the Faith. 54
Gods people ever earnest with God for an Arme of Flesh. 55
The dreadfull punishment of the blind Pharises in 4 respects. ibid.
The point of seducing, infecting, or Soule killing examined. 57
Strange confusions in punishments. 59
The blood of Soules, Acts 20. *lies upon such as professe the Ministrie: the blood of Bodies only upon the State.* ibid.

Usur-

Usurpers and true Heires of Christ Jesus. Page 60
The Civill Magistrate bound to preserve the bodies of their subjects, and not to destroy them for conscience sake. 61
The fire from heaven, Rev. 13.13. 2 Tim.2.25,26. *examined.* 62
The originall of the Christian name, Acts 11. 63
A Civill sword in Religion makes a Nation of hypocrites, Isa.10 64
A difference of the true and false Christ and Christians. 65
The nature of the worship of unbeleeving and naturall persons. ibid.
Antoninus Pius *his famous act concerning Religion.* 66
Isa.24. Mic.4.3. *concerning Christs visible Kingdome discussed.* ibid.
Acts 20 29. *The suppressing of Spirituall wolves discussed.* 67
It is in vaine to decline the name of the head of the Church, and yet to practise the headship. 68
Titus 1.9.10. *discussed.* 69
Unmercifull and bloody doctrine. 70
The Spirituall weapons, 2 Cor.10.4. *discussed.* ibid.
Civill weapons most improper in Spirituall causes. 71
The Spirituall artillerie, Eph.6. *applied.* 72
Rom. 13. *concerning Civill Rulers power in Spirituall causes, largely examined.* 73
Pauls *appeale to* Cæsar *examined.* 77
And cleared by 5 arguments. ibid.
4 Sorts of swords. 79
What is to be understood by evill, Rom.13.4. 81
Though evill be alwayes evill, yet the permission of it may sometimes be good. 83
2 Sorts of commands both from Moses *and Christ.* 84
The permission of divorce in Israel, Mat.19 17,18. ibid.
Usury in the Civill state lawfully permitted. 85
Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish, Turkish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient subjects to the Civill Lawe. 86
Scandalous livers against the Civill state. 87
Toleration of Jesabel *and* Balaam, *Rev.2 14,20. examined.* 88
The Christian world hath swallowed up Christianity. 89
Christ Jesus the deepest polititian that ever was, yet commands be a toleration of Antichristians. 91
The Princes of the world seldome take part with Christ Jesus. 93
Buchanans *item to King* James. ibid.
King James *his sayings against persecution.* ibid.

King Steven *of* Poland *his sayings against persecution.* Page 93
Forcing of conscience a soule rape. 94
Persecution for conscience hath been the launcet which hath let blood the Nations. All Spirituall whores are bloody. ibid.
Poligamie or the many wives of the Fathers. ibid.
David *advancing of Gods worship against order.* 95
Constantine *and the good Emperours confest to have done more hurt to the Name and* Crowne *of Christ then the bloody* Neroes *did.* ibid.
The language of persecuters. 96
Christs Lillies may flourish in the Church, *notwithstanding the weeds in the world permitted.* 97
Queen Elizabeth *and King* James *their persecuting for cause of Religion examined.* ibid.
Queen Elizabeth *confessed by Mr.* Cotton *to have almost fired the world in civill combustions.* 98
The Wars between the Papists and the Protestants. ibid.
The Wars and successe of the Waldensians against three Popes. 99
Gods people victorious overcomers, and with what weapons. ibid.
The Christian Church *doth not persecute, but is persecuted.* ibid.
The nature of excommunication. 100
The opinion of ancient Writers examined concerning the doctrine of persecution. 101
Constraint upon conscience in Old and New England. ibid.
The Indians of New England permitted in their worshipping of devils, 102
In 2 cases a false Religion will not hurt. 103
The absolute sufficiencie of the Sword of the Spirit. 104
A Nationall Church *not instituted by Christ.* ibid.
Man hath no power to make Lawes, to binde conscience. 105
Hearing of the word in a Church *estate a part of Gods worship.* 107
Papists plea for toleration of conscience. ibid.
Protestant partiality in the cause of persecution. 108
Pills to purge out the bitter humour of persecution. ibid.
Superstition and persecution have had many votes and suffrages from Gods owne people. 109
Soul-killing discussed. ibid.
Phineas *his act discussed.* 111
Eliah *his slaughters examined.* ibid
Dangerous consequences flowing from the civill Magistrates power in Spirituall cases. 114

The world turned upside downe. Page 114
The wonderfull answer of the Ministers of New England to the Ministers of Old. ibid.
Lamentable differences even amongst them that feare God. 115
The doctrine of persecution ever drives the most godly out of the world 116
A Model of Church and Civill power composed by Mr. Cotton, *and the Ministers of New England, and sent to Salem, (as a further confirmation of the bloody doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience) examined and answered.* 118
Christs power in the Church confest to be above all Magistrates in Spirituall things. 119
Ma. 49. 23. *lamentably wrested.* ibid.
The civill Commonweale, and the Spirituall Commonweale the Church not inconsistent, though independent the one on the other. 120
Christ ordinances put upon a whole city or Nation may civilize them, and moralize, but not Christianize before repentance first wrought. 121
Mr. Cottons *and the New English Ministers confession that the Magistrate hath neither Civill nor Spirituall power in Soul matters.* 122
The Magistrates and the Church (by Mr. Cottons *grounds) in one and the same cause made the Judges on the Bench, and delinquents at the Bar.* 123
A demonstrative illustration that the Magistrate cannot have power over the Church *in Spirituall or* Church *causes.* 124
The true way of the God of Peace in differences between the Church *and the Magistrate.* 125.
The tearms Godlinesse and Honesty explained, 1 Tim. 2. 1. *and honesty proved not to signifie in that place the righteousnes of the second Table.* 127
The forcing of men to Gods worship, the greatest breach of civill peace. 129
The Roman Cæsars *of* Christs *time described.* ibid.
It pleased not the Lord Jesus in the institution of the Christian Church to appoint and raise up any Civill Governours to take care of his worship. 130
The true custodes utriusque Tabulæ, *and keepers of the Ordinances and worship of Jesus Christ.* ibid.
The Kings of Ægypt, Moab, Philistia, Assyria, Ninreh, were not charged with the worship of God, as the Kings of Judah were. 131
Masters of families not charged under the Gospel to force all the consciences of their families to worship. 132
Gods people have then shined brightest in Godlines, when they have enjoyed least

least quietnesse. pag.134.
Few Magistrates, few Men, spiritually good; yet divers sorts of commendable Goodnes beside spirituall. ibid.
Civill power originally and fundamentally in the People. Mr. Cotton *and the* New English *give the power of Christ into the hands of the Commonweale.* 137
Lawes concerning Religion, of two sorts. 138
The very Indians abhor to disturbe any Conscience at Worship. 139
Canons and constitutions pretended Civill, but indeed Ecclesiasticall. ibid.
A threefold guilt lying upon Civill powers, commanding the Subjects Soule in Worship. 143
Persons may with lesse sinne be forced to marry whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleeve. ibid.
As the cause, so the weapons of the Beast and the Lambe are infinitely different. 146
Artaxerxes his Decree examined. 147
The summe of the Examples of the Gentile Kings decrees concerning Gods worship in Scripture. 149
The Doctrine of putting to death Blasphemers of Christ, cuts off the hopes of the Jewes partaking in his blood. 181
The direfull effects of fighting for Conscience. 151
Errour is confident as well as Truth. 152
Spirituall prisons. 153
Some Consciences not so easily healed and cured as men imagine. 154
Persecuters dispute with Hereticks, as a tyran call Cat with the poore Mouse: And with a true Witnes, as a roaring Lyon with an innocent Lambe in his paw. 155
Persecuters endure not the name of Persecuters. 156
Psal 101 *concerning cutting off the wicked, examined.* 158
No difference of Lands and Countries, since Christ Jesus his comming. ib.
The New English seperate in America, but not in Europe. 159
Christ Jesus forbidding his followers to permit Leaven in the Church, doth not forbid to permit Leaven in the World. 160
The Wall (Cant.8.9.) *discussed.* 161
Every Religion commands its professors to heare only its own Priests or Ministers. 162
Jonah his preaching to the Ninevites discussed. 162
Hearing of the Word discussed. ibid.
Eglon his rising up to Ehuds message, discussed. ibid.

A two-fold Miniſtrie of Chriſt: Firſt, Apoſtolicall, properly converting. Secondly, Feeding or Paſtorall. pag. 162
The New Engliſh *forcing the people to Church, and yet not to Religion (as they ſay) forcing them to be of no Religion all their dayes* 163
The Civill State can no more lawfully compell the Conſciences of men to Church to heare the Word, then to receive the Sacraments. 164
No preſident in the Word, of any people converting and baptizing themſelves. 166
True converſion to viſible Chriſtianitie, is not only from ſins againſt the ſecond Table, but from falſe Worſhips alſo. ibid.
The Commiſſion, Mat. 28 *diſcuſſed.* 167
The Civill Magiſtrate not betruſted with that Commiſſion. ibid.
Jehoſaphat, 2 Chron. 19. *a figure of Chriſt Jeſus in his Church, not of the Civill Magiſtrate in the State.* 168
The maintenance of the Miniſtrie, Gal. 6. 6. *examined.* ibid.
Chriſt Jeſus never appointed a maintenance of the Miniſtrie from the impenitent and unbelieving. 169
They that compell men to heare, compell them alſo to pay for their hearing and converſion. ibid.
Luc. 14. *Compell them to come in, examined.* ibid.
Naturall men can neither truly worſhip nor maintaine it. 170
The Nationall Church of the Jewes might well be forced to a ſetled maintenance: but not ſo the Chriſtian Church. 171
The maintenance which Chriſt hath appointed his Miniſtrie in the Church. 172
The Univerſities of Europe cauſes of univerſall ſins and plagues: yet Schooles are honourable for tongues and Arts. 173
The true Church is Chriſts Schoole, and Believers his Scholars. ibid.
Mr. Ainſworth *excellent in the Tongues, yet no Univerſitie man.* 174
K. Henry *the* 8. *ſet down in the Popes chaire in England.* 175
Apocrypha, Homilies, and Common Prayer precious to our forefathers. ib.
Reformation proved fallible. 176
The preſident of the Kings of Iſrael & Judah largely examined. 178
The Perſian Kings example make ſtrongly againſt the doctrine of Perſecution. 179
1. *The difference of the Land of Canaan from all lands and countries, in 7 particulars.* ibid.
2. *The difference of the people of Iſrael from all other peoples, in 7 particulars.* 183

Wonderfull turnings of Religion in England *in twelve yeares revolution.* Page 185
The Pope not unlike to recover his Monarchy over Europe, before his downfall. ibid.
Israel Gods only Church might well renew that Nationall Covenant and ceremoniall worship, which other Nations cannot doe. 187
V *The difference of the Kings and Governours of Israel from all Kings and Governours of the world, in 4 particulars.* 188
5 *Demonstrative arguments proving the unsoundnesse of the maxime, viz. The Church and Commonweale are like* Hypocrates *twins.* 189
A sacrilegious prostitution of the name Christian. 192
David *immediately inspired by God in his ordering of Church affairs.* 193
Solomons *deposing of* Abiathar, 1 Kings 2.26,27. *discussed.* 194
The liberties of Christs Churches in the choice of her officers. 195
A civill influence dangerous to the State liberties. ibid.
Jehosaphats *fast examined.* ibid.
God will not wrong Cæsar, *and* Cæsar *should not wrong God.* 196
The famous alls of Josiah *examined.* ibid.
Magistracie in generall from God, the particular formes from the people. ibid.
V *Israel confirmed in a Nationall Covenant by revelations, signes and miracles, but not so any other Land.* ibid.
Kings and Nations often plant and often plucke up Religions. 197
A Nationall Church ever subject to turne and returne. ibid.
A woman, Papissa, *or head of the Church.* ibid.
The Papists neerer to the truth, concerning the governour of the Church, then most Protestants. 198
The Kingly power of the Lord Jesus troubles all the Kings and Rulers of the world. ibid.
A twofold exaltation of Christ. ibid.
A monarchicall and Ministeriall power of Christ. 199
3 *Great competitours for the Ministeriall power of Christ.* ibid.
The Pope pretendeth to the Ministeriall power of Christ, yet upon the point chalengeth the Monarchicall also. ibid.
3 *Great factions in* England *striving for the Arme of Flesh.* 200
The Churches of the separation ought in humanity, and subjects liberty, not to be oppressed, but at least permitted. 201
7 *Reasons proving that the Kings of Israel and Judah can have no other but a Spirituall Antitype.* 202

Chri-

Christianitie addes not to the nature of a Civill Commonweale; nor doth want of Christianitie diminish it. pag. 203
Most strange, yet most true consequences from the Civill Magistrates being the Antitype of the Kings of Israel and Judah. ibid.
If no Religion but what the Commonweale approve; then no Christ, no God, but at the pleasure of the World. 204
The true Antitype of the Kings of Israel and Judah. ibid.
4. *The difference of Israels Statutes and Lawes from all others in 3 particulars.* ibid.
5. *The difference of Israels Punishments & Rewards from all others.* 205
Temporall prosperitie most proper to the Nationall state of the Jewe. ibid.
The Excommunication in Israel. 206
The corporall stoning in the Law typed out spirituall stoning in the Gospel. ibid.
The wars of Israel typicall and unparalleld, but by the Spirituall wars of Spiritnall Israel. ibid.
The famous typicall captivitie of the Jewes. 207
Their wonderfull victories. 208
The mysticall Army of white troopers. 209
Whether the Civill state of Israel was presidentiall. ibid.
Great unfaithfulnesse in Magistrates to cast the burthen of judging and establishing Christianitie upon the Commonweale. 210
Thousands of lawfull Civill Magistrates, who never heare of Jesus Christ. 211
Nero *and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as* Constantine *and others, who assumed a power in Spiritnall things.* ibid.
They who force the conscience of others, cry out of persecution, when their owne are forced. 212
Constantine *and others wanted not so much affection, as information of judgement.* ibid.
Civill Authoritie giving and lending their Hornes to Bishops dangerous to Christs truth. ibid.
The Spiritnall power of Christ Iesus, compared in Scripture to the incomparable horne of the Rhinocerot. 213
The nursing Fathers and Mothers, Isa. 49. ibid.
The civill Magistrate owes 3 things to the true Church of Christ. 214
The civill Magistrate owes 2 things to false Worshippers. 214
The rise of High Commissions. 215
Pious Magistrates & Ministers consciences are perswaded for that, which other

others pleas Magistrates & Ministers consciences condemn. Page 215
An apt similitude discussed concerning the Civill Magistrate. 216
A grievous charge against the Christian Church and the King of it. 222
A strange Law in New England formerly against excommunicate persons. ibid.
A dangerous doctrine against all Civill Magistrates. 223
Originall sin charged to hurt the Civill state. ibid.
They who give the Magistrate more then his due, are apt to disrobe him of what is his. 224
A strange double picture. 226
The great priviledges of the true Church of Christ. 227
2 Similitudes illustrating the true power of the Magistrate. ibid.
A marvelous chalenge of more power under the Christian, then under the Heathen Magistrate. 229
Civill Magistrates derivatives from the fountains or bodies of people. 230
A beleeving Magistrate no more a Magistrate then an unbeleeving. ibid.
The excellencie of Christianity in all callings. ibid.
The Magistrate like a Pilot in the Ship of the Commonweale. 231
The tearmes Heathen and Christian Magistrates. ibid.
The unjust and partiall liberty to some consciences and bondage unto all others. 232
The commission Matth. 28. 19, 20. *not proper to Pastors and teachers, least of all to the Civill Magistrate.* 233
Unto whom now belongs the care of all the Churches, &c. ibid.
Acts 15. *commonly misapplied* 234
The promise of Christs presence Mat. 18. *distinct from that* Mat. 28. 235
Church administrations sinfully charged upon the Ministers thereof. 236
Queen Elizabeths *Bishops truer to their principles then many of a better spirit and profession.* 237.
Mr. Barrowes *profession concerning Queen* Elizabeth. ibid
The inventions of men swarving from the true essentials of civill and Spirituall Commonweales. 239
A great question viz. whether only Church members, that is godly persons in a particular Church estate, be only eligible into the Magistracie. ib.
The world being divided into 30 parts, 25 never heard of Christ. 240
Lawfull civill states where Churches of Christ are not. ibid.
Few Christians Wise and noble and qualified for affaires of State. ibid.

SCRIPTURES

Scriptures And Reasons written long since by a *Witnesse* of Iesus Christ, close *Prisoner* in *Newgate*, against *Persecution* in cause of *Conscience*; and sent some while since to Mr. *Cotton*, by a Friend who thus wrote:

In the multitude *of* Councellours *there is safety: It is therefore humbly desired to be instructed in this point: viz.*

Whether Persecution *for cause of* Conscience, *be not against the Doctrine of* Iesus Christ *the* King of Kings. *The Scriptures and Reasons are these.*

BEcause *Christ* commandeth that the *Tares* and *Wheat* (which some understand are those that walke in the *Truth*, and those that walke in *Lies*) should be *let alone* in the *World*, and not *plucked* up untill the *Harvest*, which is the end of the *World*, *Matth.* 13. 30. 38. &c. 1

The same commandeth *Matth.* 15. 14. that they that are *Blinde* (as some interpret, led on in false *Religion*, and are offended with him for teaching true *Religion*) should be *let alone*, referring their punishment unto their falling into the *Ditch*. 2

Againe, *Luke* 9. 54, 55. hee reproved his *Disciples* who would have had *Fire* come downe from Heaven and devoure those *Samaritanes* who would not receive Him, in these words: Ye know not of what *Spirit* ye are, the son of Man is not come to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them. 3

Paul the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, 2 *Tim.* 24. 2. That the servant of the Lord must not *strive*, but must be *gentle* toward *all Men*, suffering the Evill Men, instructing them with *meekenesse* that are contrary minded, proving if *God* at any time will give them *repentance*, that they may acknowledge the Truth, and come to *amendment* out of that snare of the *devill*, &c. 4

According to these blessed *Commandements*, the holy *Prophets* foretold, 5

told, that when the *Law* of *Moſes* (concerning *Worſhip*) ſhould ceaſe, and *Chriſts Kingdome* be eſtabliſhed, *Eſa.* 2. 4. *Mic.* 4. 3, 4. They ſhall breake their *Swords* into *Mathookes*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*. And *Eſa.* 11. 9. Then ſhall none hurt or deſtroy in all the *Mountaine* of my Holineſſe, &c. And when he came, the ſame he *taught* and *practiſed*, as before: ſo did his *Diſciples* after him, for the *Weapons* of his *Warfare* are not *carnall* (ſaith the Apoſtle) 2 *Cor.* 10 4.

But he chargeth ſtraitly that his Diſciples ſhould be ſo far from perſecuting thoſe that would not bee of their Religion, that when they were *perſecuted* they ſhould *pray* (*Matth.* 5.) when they were *curſed* they ſhould *bleſſe*, &c.

And the Reaſon ſeemes to bee, becauſe they who now are *Tares*, may hereafter become *Wheat*; they who are now *blinde*, may hereafter *ſee*; they that now *reſiſt* him, may hereafter *receive* him; they that are now in the *devils ſnare*, in *adverſeneſſe* to the *Truth*, may hereafter come to *repentance*; they that are now *blaſphemers* and *perſecutors* (as *Paul* was) may in time become *faithfull* as he; they that are now *idolators* as the *Corinths* once were (1 *Cor.* 6. 9.) may hereafter become *true worſhippers* as they; they that are now *no people* of *God*, not under *mercy* (as the Saints ſometimes were, 1 *Pet.* 2. 20.) may hereafter become the people of *God*, and obtaine *mercy*, as they.

Some come not till the 11. houre, *Matth.* 20. 6. if thoſe that come not till the *laſt houre* ſhould be *deſtroyed*, becauſe they come not at the *firſt*, then ſhould they never come but be prevented.

All which *premiſes* are in all humility referred to your godly wiſe *conſideration*.

II. Becauſe this *perſecution* for cauſe of *conſcience* is againſt the *profeſſion* and *practice* of *famous Princes*.

Firſt, you may pleaſe to conſider the ſpeech of *King James*, in his *Majeſties Speech* at *Parliament*, 1609. He ſaith, it is a ſure *Rule* in *Divinity*, that God never loves to plant his *Church* by *violence* and *bloodſhed*.

And in his *Highneſſe Apologie*, pag. 4. ſpeaking of ſuch *Papiſts* that tooke the Oath, thus:

"I gave good proofe that I intended no *perſecution* againſt them for "*conſcience* cauſe, but onely deſired to bee ſecured for *civill obedience*, "which for *conſcience* cauſe they are bound to performe.

And pag. 60. ſpeaking of *Blackwell* (the *Arch-prieſt*) his *Majeſty* ſaith, "It was never my intention to lay any thing to the ſaid *Arch-*"*Prieſts* charge (as I have never done to any) for *cauſe of conſcience*. And in his *Highneſſe Expoſition* on *Revel.* 20. printed 1588. and after 1603. his *Majeſty* writeth thus: "Sixthly, the compaſſing of the *Saints*

"and

"and the *besieging* of the *beloved City*, declareth unto us a certaine cure "of a *false Church*, to be *Persecution*, for they come to seeke the *faithfull*, "the *faithfull* are them that are sought: the *wicked* are the *besiegers*, the "*faithfull* are the *besieged*.

Secondly, the saying of *Stephen* King of *Poland*: "I am *King* of "*Men*, not of *Consciences*, a Commander of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

Thirdly, the *King* of *Bohemia* hath thus written:

"And notwithstanding the successe of the later times (where- "in sundry *opinions* have beene hatched about the subject of "*Religion*) may make one clearly discerne with his *eye*, and as it were "to touch with his *Finger*, that according to the veritie of *Holy Scrip-* "*tures*, and a *Maxime* heretofore told and maintained, by the ancient "Doctors of the *Church*; That *mens consciences* ought in no sort to bee "*violated*, *urged*, or *constrained*; and whensoever men have attempted "any thing by this *violent course*, whether openly or by secret meanes, "the issue hath beene *pernicious*, and the cause of great and wonderfull "*Innovations* in the principallest and mightiest *Kingdomes* and *Countries* "of all Christendome.

And further his *Majesty* saith: "So that once more we doe professe "before *God* and the *whole World*, that from this time forward wee are "firmly resolved not to *persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or "*molested*, any person whosoever for *matter of Religion*, no not they that "professe *themselves* to be of the *Romish Church*, neither to trouble or "disturbe them in the exercise of their *Religion*, so they live conform- "mable to the *Lawes* of the *States*, &c.

And for the practice of this, where is *persecution* for cause of *conscience* except in *England* and where *Popery* reignes, and there neither in all places, as appeareth by *France*, *Poland*, and other places.

Nay, it is not practised amongst the *Heathen* that acknowledge not the *true God*, as the *Turke*, *Persian*, and others.

Thirdly, because *persecution* for cause of conscience is condemned 3. *Reas.*
by the ancient and later *writers*, yea and *Papists* themselves.

Hilarie against *Auxentius* saith thus: The *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*. And lamentable it is to see the great folly of these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men thinke by humane aide to helpe *God*, and with worldly pompe and power to undertake to defend the *Christian Church*. I aske you *Bi-* *shops*, what helpe used the *Apostles* in the publishing of the *Gospel*? with the aid of what power did they preach *Christ*, and converted the *Hea-* *then* from their *idolatry* to *God*? When they were in *prisons*, and lay in *chaines*, did they praise and give thankes to God for any *dignities*, *graces*,

and *favours* receiued from the *Court*? Or do you thinke that *Paul* went about with *Regall Mandates*, or *Kingly authority*, to gather and establish the *Church* of *Christ*? sought he *protection* from *Nero*, *Vespasian*?

The *Apostles* wrought with their *hands* for their owne *maintenance*, travailing by *land* and *water* from *Towne* to *Citie*, to preach *Christ*: yea the more they were *forbidden*, the more they *taught* and preached *Christ*. But now alas, *humane helpe* must *assist* and *protect* the *Faith*, and give the same countenance to and by vaine and *worldly honours*. Doe men seek to defend the *Church of Christ*? as if hee by his power were unable to performe it.

The same against the *Arrians*.

The *Church* now, which formerly by induring *misery* and *imprisonment* was knowne to be a *true Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *misery*, and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the *world*, when as the true *Church* cannot but be hated of the same.

Tertull. ad Scapulam: It agreeth both with *humane reason*, and *naturall equity*, that every man *worship* God uncompelled, and beleeve what he will; for it neither hurteth nor profiteth any one another mans *Religion* and *Beleefe*: Neither beseemeth it any *Religion* to compell another to be of their *Religion*, which willingly and freely should be imbraced, and not by constraint: for as much as the *offerings* were required of those that freely and with good will offered, and not from the *contrary*.

Ierom. in proem. lib. 4. in Ieremiam. *Heresie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*: let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit* all *Sonnes* and *Disciples* of mis-led *Heretickes*, that is, with *Testimonies* of holy *Scriptures*. The slaughter of *Heretickes* is by the word of God.

Brentius upon 1 *Cor.* 3. No man hath power to make or give Lawes to *Christians*, whereby to binde their *consciences*; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled, with a ready desire and cheerfull minde, must those that come, run unto *Christ*.

Luther in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate* saith; The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrates* government extends no further then over the *body* or *goods*, and to that which is *externall*: for over the *soule God* will not suffer any man to *rule*: onely he *himselfe* will rule there. Wherefore whosoever doth undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men, he usurpeth that *government* himselfe which appertaineth unto *God*, &c.

Therefore upon 1 *Kings* 5. In the building of the *Temple* there was no *sound* of *Iron* heard, to signifie that *Christ* will have in his *Church* a *free* and a *willing* People, not compelled and constrained by *Lawes* and *Statutes*.

Againe

Againe he ſaith upon *Luk.* 22. It is not the true *Catholike Church*, which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane Power, but the *falſe* and *feigned Church*, which although it carries the *Name* of a *Church* yet it denyes the power thereof.

And upon *Pſal.* 17. he ſaith: For the true *Church* of *Chriſt* knoweth not *Brachium ſeculare*, which the *Biſhops* now adayes, chiefly uſe.

Againe, in *Poſtil. Dom.* 1. *poſt Epiphan.* he ſaith: Let not *Chriſtians* be *commanded*, but *exhorted:* for, He that willingly will not doe that, whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no *Chriſtian*: wherefore they that doe compell thoſe that are not willing, ſhew thereby that they are not *Chriſtian Preachers*, but *Worldly Beadles*.

Againe, upon 1 *Pet.* 3. he ſaith: If the *Civill Magiſtrate* ſhall command me to believe thus and thus: I ſhould anſwer him after this manner: *Lord*, or *Sir*, Looke you to your *Civill* or *Worldly Government*, Your Power extends not ſo farre as to command any thing in *Gods Kingdome*: Therefore herein I may not heare you. For if you cannot beare it, that any ſhould uſurpe *Authoritie* where you have to Command, how doe you thinke that *God* ſhould ſuffer you to thruſt him from his Seat, and to ſeat your ſelfe therein?

Laſtly, the Papiſts, the *Inventors of Perſecution*, in a wicked Booke of theirs ſet forth in *K. James* his *Reigne*, thus:

Moreover, the *Meanes* which *Almighty God* appointed his Officers to uſe in the Converſion of *Kingdomes* and *Nations*, and People, was *Humilitie*, *Patience*, *Charitie*; ſaying, Behold I ſend you as *Sheepe* in the midſt of *Wolves*, Mat. 10. 16. He did not ſay, Behold I ſend you as *Wolves* among *Sheepe*, to kill, impriſon, ſpoile and devoure thoſe unto whom they were ſent.

Againe *verſ.* 7. he ſaith: They to whom I ſend you, will deliver you up into *Councells*, and in their *Synagogues* they will ſcourge you; and to *Preſidents* and to *Kings* ſhall you be led for my ſake. He doth not ſay: You whom I ſend, ſhall deliver the people (whom you ought to convert) unto *Councells*, and put them in Priſons, and lead them to *Preſidents*, and *Tribunall Seates*, and make their *Religion Felony* and *Treaſon*.

Againe he ſaith, *verſ* 32. When ye enter into an Houſe, ſalute it, ſaying, Peace be unto this Houſe: he doth not ſay, You ſhall ſend *Purſevants* to ranſack or ſpoile his Houſe.

Againe he ſaid, *John* 10. The good *Paſtour* giveth his life for his Sheep, the *Thiefe* commeth not but to ſteale, kill and deſtroy. He doth not ſay, The *Theefe* giveth his life for his Sheep, and the Good *Paſtour*

commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy.

So that we holding our peace, but *Adversaries* themselves speake for us, or rather for the Truth.

To answer some maine *Objections*.

And first, that it is no *prejudice* to the *Common wealth*, if *Libertie of Conscience* were suffred to such as dos feare *God* indeed, as is or will be manifest in such mens lives and conversations.

Abraham abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in *Religion*, Gen. 13.7. & 16.13. Againe he sojourned in *Gerar*, and K. *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, *Gen.* 20.21.23.24.

Isaack also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in *Religion*, Gen. 26.

Jacob lived 20 yeares in one House with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in *Religion*, Gen. 31.

The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards 70 yeares in *Babylon*, all which time they differed in *Religion* from the States, *Exod.* 12. & 2 *Chron.* 36.

Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romans*, where lived divers Sects of *Religion*, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, *Saduces* and *Libertines*, *Thudaans* and *Samaritanes*, beside the Common Religion of the *Jewes*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All which differed from the Common *Religion* of the State, which was like the Worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole world then worshipped, *Acts* 19.20.

All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-wealth*, giving unto *Cæsar* that which was his. And for their *Religion* and Consciences towards God, he left them to themselves, as having no Dominion over their *Soules* and *Consciences*. And when the Enemies of the Truth raised up any *Tumults*, the wisedome of the *Magistrate* most wisely appeased them, *Acts* 18.14. & 19.35.

THE

THE ANSWER OF Mr. IOHN COTTON of *Boston* in *New-England*, To the aforesaid ARGUMENTS against *Persecution* for Cause of *Conscience*.

Professedly maintaining *Persecution for Cause of Conscience.*

THe *Question* which you put, is, Whether *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, be not against the *Doctrine* of *Jesus Christ* the *King of Kings*.

Now by *Persecution* for Cause of *Conscience*, I conceive you meane, either for professing some point of *Doctrine* which you believe in Conscience to be the Truth, or for practising some *Worke* which in *Conscience* you believe to be a *Religious Duty*.

Now in Points of *Doctrine* some are *fundamentall*, without right beliefe whereof a Man cannot be *saved*. Others are *circumstantiall* or lesse principall, wherein Men may differ in judgement, without prejudice of *salvation* on either part.

In like sort, in Points of *Practice*, some concerne the waightier Duties of the *Law*, as, What *God* we worship, and with what kinde of *Worship*; whether such, as if it be *Right*, fellowship with *God* is held; if *Corrupt*, fellowship with Him is lost.

Againe, in Points of *Doctrine* and *Worship* lesse Principall: either they are held forth in a meeke and *peaceable* way, though the Things be *Erroneous* or unlawfull: Or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousnesse*, as tendeth and reacheth (even of it selfe) to the disturbance of *Civill Peace*.

Finally, let me adde this one distinction more: When we are persecuted for *Conscience* sake, It is either for *Conscience* rightly informed, or for erroneous and blind *Conscience*.

These things premised, I would lay down mine Answer to the Question in certaine *Conclusions*.

First, it is not lawfull to persecute any for *Conscience* sake *Rightly informed*; for in *persecuting* such, *Christ* himselfe is persecuted in them, *Acts* 9.4. 1.

Secondly, for an *Erroneous* and *blind Conscience*, (even in fundamentall 2.

tall and weighty Points) It is not lawfull to persecute any, till after *Admonition* once or twice: and so the Apostle directeth, *Tit.*3.10. and giveth the Reason, that in *fundamentall* and principall points of Doctrine or Worship, the Word of *God* in such things is so cleare, that hee cannot but bee convinced in *Conscience* of the dangerous Errour of his way, after once or twice *Admonition*, wisely and faithfully dispensed. And then if any one persist, it is not out of *Conscience*, but against *his Conscience*, at the Apostle saith *vers.*11. He is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of Himselfe, that is, of his owne *Conscience*. So that if such a Man after such Admonition shall still *persist* in the Errour of his way, and be therefore punished; He is not *persecuted* for Cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning *against* his Owne *Conscience*.

3. Thirdly, In things of lesser *moment*, whether Points of *Doctrine* or *Worship*, If a man hold them forth in a Spirit of Christian *Meekenesse* and *Love* (though with *Zeale* and *Constancie*) he is not to be *persecuted*, but *tolerated*, till *God* may be pleased to manifest his Truth to him, *Phil.*3.17. *Rom.*14.1,2,3,4.

4. But if a Man hold forth or professe any *Errour* or false way, with a *boysterous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of *Civill peace*, he may justly be punished according to the qualitie and measure of the *disturbance* caused by him.

Now let us consider of your *Reasons* or *Objections* to the contrary.

Your first head of *Objections* is taken from the *Scripture*.

*Objct.*1. Because Christ commandeth to let alone the *Tares* and *Wheat* to grow together unto the *Harvest*, Mat.13.30.38.

Answ. Tares are not *Briars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *Godly*, but indeed *Carnall*, as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*. Or partly such Corrupt *Doctrines* or *Practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very neere the Truth, (as *Tares* doe to the *Wheat*) and so neere, that Good men may be taken with them, and so the Persons in whom they grow, cannot be rooted out, but good will be rooted up with them. And in such a case *Christ* calleth for *Toleration*, not for *penall prosecution*, according to the 3. Conclusion.

*Objct.*2. In *Math.*15.14. *Christ* commandeth his Disciples to let the *Blind* alone till they fall into the *ditch*; therefore he would have their punishment deferred till their finall *destruction*.

Answ. He there speaketh not to *publique officers*, whether in *Church* or *Common-weale*, but to his private *Disciples*, concerning the *Pharisees*, over whom they had no power. And the Command he giveth to let them

them alone, is ſpoken in regard of troubling themſelves or regarding the offence, which they tooke at the wholeſome *Doctrine* of the *Goſpell*: As who ſhould ſay, Though they be offended at this Saying of mine, yet doe not you feare their *Feare*, nor bee troubled at their offence, which they take at my *Doctrine*, not out of ſound Judgement, but out of their *Blindneſſe*. But this maketh nothing to the Cauſe in hand.

Ob. In *Luk.*9.54.55. *Chriſt* reproveth his *Diſciples*, who would have had fire come downe from *Heaven* to conſume the *Samaritanes*, who refuſed to receive Him.

Obj. And *Paul* teacheth *Timothy*, not to ſtrive, but to be gentle towards All men, ſuffering evill patiently.

Anſw. Both theſe are *Directions* to *Miniſters* of the *Goſpell* how to deale (not with *obſtinate offenders* in the *Church*, that ſinne againſt Conſcience, but) either with Men without, as the *Samaritanes* were, and many unconverted *Chriſtians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* (as an *Evangeliſt*) was to ſeeke to convert: Or at beſt with ſome *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who though carnall, yet were not convinced of the errour of their Way: And 'tis true, it became not the Spirit of the *Goſpell* to convert Aliens to the Faith of *Chriſt* (ſuch as the *Samaritanes* were) by *Fire* and *Brimſtone*; nor to deale harſhly in publique Miniſterie or private Conference with all ſuch contrary minded men, as either had not yet entred into *Church-Fellowſhip*, or if they had, yet did hitherto ſinne of *Ignorance*, not againſt *Conſcience*.

But neither of both theſe Texts doe hinder the Miniſters of the Goſpell to proceed in a Church-way againſt Church-members, when they become *Scandalous offenders*, either in *Life* or *Doctrine*: much leſſe doe they ſpeake at all to Civill *Magiſtrates*.

*Ob.*5. From the *prediction* of the *Prophets*, who foretold that *Carnall Weapons* ſhould ceaſe in the dayes of the *Goſpell*, Iſa.2.4.& 11.9. Mic.4.3.4. And the *Apoſtle* profeſſeth, The weapons of our *Warfare* are not *carnall*, 2 Cor,10.4. And *Chriſt* is ſo farre from perſecuting thoſe that would not be of his *Religion*, that he chargeth them, when they are perſecuted themſelves, they ſhould *pray*, and when they are *curſed* they ſhould *bleſſe*. The reaſon whereof ſeemeth to be, that they who are now *Perſecuters* and wicked perſons, may become true *Diſciples* and *Converts*.

Anſw. Thoſe *predictions* in the *Prophets* doe onely ſhew, Firſt, with what kind of *Weapons* he will ſubdue the *Nations* to the Obedience of the Faith of the *Goſpell*, not by *Fire* and *Sword*, and *Weapons* of Warre,

but by the Power of his *Word* and Spirit, which no man doubteth of.

Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew what the meeke and peaceable *temper* will be of all the true Converts to *Christianity*, not *Lions* or *Leopards*, &c. not cruell *oppressors*, nor malignant *opposers*, or *biters* of one another. But doth not forbid them to drive ravenous *Wolves* from the *sheepfold*, and to restraine them from devouring the Sheepe of *Christ*.

And when *Paul* saith, The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnall* but *spirituall*, he denyeth not *civill weapons of Justice* to the *Civill Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. but onely to *Church-officers*. And yet the weapons of such officers he acknowledgeth to be such, as though they be *spirituall*, yet are ready to take *vengeance* of all *disobedience*, 2 *Cor.* 10.6. which hath reference (amongst other Ordinances) to the censure of the *Church* against *scandalous offenders*.

3. When *Christ* commandeth his *Disciples* to blesse them that curse them and persecute them, he giveth not therein a rule to *publick officers*, whether in *Church* or *Commonweale*, to suffer notorious sinners, either in *life* or *doctrine*, to passe away with a *blessing*: But to private *Christians* to suffer *persecution* patiently, yea and to pray for their *persecutors*.

Againe, it is true, Christ would have his *Disciples* to bee farre from persecuting (for that is a *sinfull oppression* of Men for *righteousnesse* sake) but that hindreth not but that he would have them execute upon all *disobedience* the *judgement* and *vengeance* required in the Word, 2 *Cor.* 10.6. *Rom.* 13.4.

4. Though it be true that wicked persons now may by the grace of *God* become true *Disciples* and *Converts*, yet we may not doe evill that good may come thereof: And evill it would bee to tolerate notorious evill doers, whether *seducing teachers*, or *scandalous livers*. *Christ* had something against the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Pergamus* for tolerating them that held the *doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thiatira* for tolerating *Jesabel* to teach and seduce, *Rev.* 2.14.20.

Your second Head of *Reasons* is taken from the *profession* and *practice* of famous *Princes*, King *James*, *Stephen* of *Poland*, King of *Bohemia*.

Whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned.

First, we willingly acknowledge, that none is to be persecuted at all, no more then they may be oppressed for righteousnesse sake.

Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his *conscience*, though mis-informed, as hath been said, unlesse his *errour* be *fundamentall*,

mentall, or ſeditiouſly and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of his *conſcience*, that it may appeare he is not puniſhed *for his conſcience*, but for ſinning *againſt his conſcience*.

Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *conſtrained* to beleeve or profeſſe the true *Religion* till he be convinced in judgement of the *truth* of it: but yet reſtrained he may from blaſpheming the *truth*, and from ſeducing any unto pernicious errours.

2. Wee anſwer, what *Princes* profeſſe or practiſe, is not a rule of *conſcience*: they many times tolerate that in point of *State policy*, which cannot juſtly be tolerated in point of true *Chriſtianity*.

Againe, *Princes* many times tolerate offendours out of very *neceſſity*, when the offenders are either too many, or too mighty for them to puniſh, in which reſpect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his *murthers*, but *againſt his will*.

3. We anſwer further, that for thoſe three Princes named by you, who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schiſmatickes*, notwithſtanding their pretence of *conſcience*, and arrogating the Crowne of *Martyrdome* to their ſufferings.

Conſtantine the Great at the requeſt of the Generall *Councell of Nice*, baniſhed *Arrius* with ſome of his fellowes. *Sozom. lib.* 1. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cap.* 19. 20. The ſame *Conſtantine* made a ſevere Law againſt the *Donatiſts*. And the like proceedings againſt them were uſed by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodoſius*, as *Auguſtine* reporteth in *Epiſt.* 166. Only *Julian* the *Apoſtata* granted liberty to *Heretickes* as well as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all *weeds* to grow, choake the vitals of *Chriſtianity*, which was alſo the practice and ſin of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

Queene *Elizabeth*, as famous for her *government* as any of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes ſhe made and executed againſt *Papiſts*. Yea and King *James* (one of your own witneſſes) though he was ſlow in proceeding againſt *Papiſts* (as you ſay) for *conſcience* ſake, yet you are not ignorant how ſharply and ſeverely he puniſhed thoſe whom the malignant world calleth *Puritanes*, men of more *conſcience* and better faith then he tolerated.

I come now to your third and laſt argument, taken from the judgement of ancient and later *Writers*, yea even of *Papiſts* themſelves, who have condemned *perſecution* for conſcience ſake.

You begin with *Hilary*, whoſe teſtimony we might admit without any prejudice to the truth: for it is true, the Chriſtian *Church* doth not

perſecute, but is perſecuted: But to excommunicate an *Heretick*, is not to perſecute; that is, it is not to puniſh an innocent, but a culpable and damnable perſon, and that not for *conſcience*, but for perſiſting in *errour* againſt light of *conſcience*, whereof it hath beene convinced.

It is true alſo what he ſaith, that neither the *Apoſtles* did, nor may we propagate *Chriſtian Religion* by the Sword: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*. Nevertheleſſe this hindreth not, but if they or any others ſhould *blaſpheme* the true *God*, and his true *Religion*, they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed; and no leſſe doe they deſerve, if they *ſeduce* from the truth to damnable *Hereſie* or *Idolatry*.

Your next Writer (which is *Tertullian*) ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe in the place alledged by you. His intent is onely to reſtraine *Scapula* the *Romane Governour* of *Africa* from the *perſecution* of *Chriſtians*, for not offering ſacrifice to their *gods*: And for that end fetcheth an argument from the Law of *Naturall Equity*, not to compell any to any *Religion*, but to permit them either to beleeve willingly, or not to beleeve at all. Which wee acknowledge, and accordingly permit the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeleefe*. Nevertheleſſe it will not therefore be lawfull openly to tolerate *the worſhip of devils* or *Idols*, or the *ſeduction* of any from the *truth*.

When *Tertullian* ſaith, Another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; it muſt be underſtood of *private worſhip* and *Religion* profeſſed in private: otherwiſe a falſe *Religion* profeſſed by the Members of a *Church*, or by ſuch as have given their *Names* to *Chriſt*, will be the *ruine* and *deſolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of Chriſt to the *Churches* of *Aſia*, *Revel.* 2.

Your next Authour *Hierom* croſſeth not the *truth*, nor advantageth not your *cauſe*: for we grant what he ſaith, that *Hereſie* muſt bee cut off with the Sword of the *Spirit*. But this hindreth not, but that being ſo cut downe, if the *Heretick* ſtill perſiſt in his *Hereſie*, to the *ſeduction* of others, he may be cut off by the *civill ſword*, to prevent the *perdition* of others. And that to bee *Hieromes* meaning appeareth by his note upon that of the Apoſtle, [A *little Leaven* leaveneth the whole *lumpe*] therefore (ſaith he) a *ſparke* as ſoone as it appeareth, is to be extinguiſhed, and the *Leaven* to be removed from the reſt of the *dough*, *rotten peeces* of fleſh are to be cut off, and a *ſcabbed beaſt* is to be driven from the ſheepfold: leſt the *whole houſe*, *maſſe of dough*, *body* and *flocke*, be ſet on fire with the *ſparke*, bee ſowred with the *Leaven*, be putrified with the

rotten

rotten flesh, perish by the *scabbed beast*.

Brentius (whom you next quote) speaketh not to your *Cause*. We willingly grant him and you, that Man hath no power to make *Lawes*, to bind *Conscience*. But this hindreth not, but that Men may see the Lawes of *God* observed, which doe bind Conscience.

The like Answer may be returned to *Luther*, whom you next alleadge. First, that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, not over their *Soules*: And therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* to the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men.

Secondly, that the *Church of Christ* doth not use the Arme of *Secular Power* to compell men to the *Faith*, or profession of the *Truth*; for this is to be done by *Spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be *exhorted*, not *compelled*.

But this hindreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *Faith* and *Conscience*, may justly be censured by the *Church* with *Excommunication*, and by the *Civill Sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *Soules*.

As for the *Testimony* of the *Popish Book*, we weigh it not, as knowing (whatsoever they speake for *Toleration of Religion*, where themselves are under *Hatches*) when they come to sit at *Sterne*, they judge and practise quite contrary, as both their *Writings* and *Judiciall proceedings* have testified to the World these many yeares.

To shut up this Argument from *Testimonie* of *Writers*. It is well known, *Augustine* retracted this Opinion of yours, which in his younger times he had held, but in after *riper age* reversed and refuted, as appeareth in the second Book of his *Retractations*, chap. 5. and in his Epistles 48. 50. And in his 1. Book against *Parmenianus*, cap. 7. he sheweth, that if the *Donatists* were punished with death, they were justly punished. And in his 11 Tractate upon *John*, They murther, saith he, *Soules*, and themselves are afflicted in *Body*: They put men to *everlasting death*, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to suffer *temporall death*.

Optatus in his 3. book, justifieth *Macharius*, who had put some *Hereticks* to death; that he had done no more herein then what *Moses*, *Phineas*, and *Elias* had done before him.

Bernard in his 66 Sermon *in Cantica*: Out of doubt (saith he) it is better that they should be restrained by the Sword of Him, who beareth not the Sword in vaine, then that they should be suffred to draw many

others into their *Errour*. For he is the *Minister of God* for *Wrath* to every evill doer.

Calvins judgement is well knowne, who procured the death of *Michael Servetus* for pertinacie in *Heresie*, and defended his fact by a Book written of that Argument.

Beza also wrote a Booke *de Hæreticis Morte plectendis*, that *Hereticks* are to be punished with *Death*. *Aretius* likewise tooke the like course about the Death of *Valentinus Gentilis*, and justified the Magistrates proceeding against him, in an History written of that Argument.

Finally, you come to answer some maine Objections, as you call them, which yet are but one, and that one objecteth nothing against what we hold. It is (say you) no prejudice to the Common-wealth, if Libertie of Conscience were suffred to such as feare God indeed, which you prove by the examples of the Patriarchs and others.

But we readily grant you, Libertie of Conscience is to be granted to men that feare God indeed, as knowing they will not persist in Heresie, or turbulent Schisme, when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulnesse thereof.

But the Question is, Whether an Heretick after once or twice Admonition (and so after conviction) or any other scandalous and heynous offender, may be tolerated, either in the Church without Excommunication, or in the Common-wealth without such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

Thus much I thought needfull to be spoken, for avoyding the Grounds of your Errour.

I forbeare adding Reasons to justifie the Truth, because you may finde that done to your hand, in a Treatise sent to some of the Brethren late of *Salem*, who doubted as you doe.

The Lord Jesus lead you by a Spirit of Truth into all Truth, through Jesus Christ.

A Reply to the aforesaid Answer of *Mr. Cotton.*

In a Conference betweene *TRUTH and PEACE.*

CHAP. I.

Truth. IN what *darke corner* of the World (*sweet Peace*) are *we two* met? How hath this present evill *world* banished *Me* from all the Coasts & Quarters of it? and how hath the Righteous *God* in judgement taken *Thee* from the *Earth*, Rev. 6.4.

Peace. 'Tis lamentably true (*blessed Truth*) the *foundations* of the *World* have long been out of course: the *Gates* of *Earth* and *Hell* have conspired together to intercept our joyfull *meeting* and our holy *kisses*: With what a wearied, *tyred Wing* have I flowne over *Nations*, *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, *Townes*, to finde out precious *Truth*? Truth and Peace rarely and seldom meet.

Truth. The like enquiries in my flights and travells have I made for *Peace*, and still am told, she hath left the *Earth*, and fled to *Heaven*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, What is the *Earth* but a *dungeon of darknesse*, where *Truth* is not?

Truth. And what's the *Peace* thereof but a fleeting *dreame*, thine *Ape* and *Counterfeit*?

Peace. O where's the Promise of the *God* of *Heaven*, that *Righteousnes* and *Peace* shall *kisse* each other?

Truth. Patience (sweet *Peace*) these *Heavens* and *Earth* are growing *Old*, and shall be changed like a *Garment*, Psal. 102. They shall melt away, and be burnt up with all the *Works* that are therein; and the most high *Eternall Creatour*, shall gloriously create *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, wherein dwells *Righteousnesse*, 2 Pet. 3. Our *kisses* then shall have their *endlesse* date of pure and sweetest ioyes? till then both *Thou* and *I* must hope, and wait, and beare the furie of the *Dragons* wrath, whose *monstrous Lies* and *Furies* shall with himselfe be cast into the *lake* of *Fire*, the *second death*, Revel. 20.

Peace. Most precious *Truth*, thou knowest we are both pursued and laid

laid for: Mine *heart* is full of ſighes, mine *eyes* with teares: Where can I better vent my full oppreſſed *boſome*, then into *thine*, whoſe faithfull *lips* may for theſe few houres revive my drooping wandring *ſpirits*, and here begin to *Wipe Teares* from mine eyes, and the eyes of my deareſt *Children?*

Truth. Sweet daughter of the *God* of *Peace*, begin; powre out thy *ſorrowes*, vent thy *complaints*: how joyfull am I to improve theſe precious Minutes to revive our *Hearts*, both thine and mine, and the hearts of all that *love* the *Truth* and *Peace*, Zach. 8.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I know thy *birth*, thy *nature*, thy *delight*. They that know thee, will *prize* thee farre above themſelves and lives, and *ſell themſelves* to *buy thee*. Well ſpake that famous *Elizabeth* to her famous *Attorney* Sir *Edward Coke*: Mr. *Attourney*, goe on as thou haſt begun, and ſtill plead, not *pro Domina Regina*, but *pro Domina Veritate*.

Truth. 'Tis true, my *Crowne* is high, my *Scepter's* ſtrong to breake down *ſtrongeſt holds*, to throw down higheſt *Crownes* of all that plead (though but in thought) againſt me. Some few there are, but oh how few are valiant for the *Truth*, and dare to *plead* my *Cauſe*, as my *Witneſſes* in *ſack-cloth*, Revel. 11. While all mens *Tongues* are bent like *Bowes* to ſhoot out lying words againſt Me!

Peace. O how could I ſpend *eternall dayes* and *endleſſe dates* at thy holy feet, in liſtning to the precious Oracles of thy mouth! All the Words of thy mouth are *Truth*, and there is no *iniquity* in them; Thy *lips* drop as the hony-combe. But oh! ſince we muſt part anon, let us (as thou ſaidſt) improve our *Minutes*, and (according as thou promiſedſt) revive me with thy words, which are ſweeter then the honey, and the honey-combe.

CHAP. II.

a great complaints of Peace.

DEare *Truth*, I have two ſad *Complaints*:

First, The moſt ſober of thy *Witneſſes*, that dare to *plead* thy *Cauſe*, how are they charged to be *mine Enemies*, *contentious*, *turbulent*, *ſeditious?*

Secondly, Thine *Enemies*, though they ſpeake and raile againſt thee, though they outragiouſly *purſue*, *impriſon*, *baniſh*, *kill* thy faithfull *Witneſſes*, yet how is all vermillion'd o're for *Juſtice* 'gainſt the *Heretickes?* Yea, if they kindle coales, and blow the flames of *devouring Warres*, that leave neither *Spirituall* nor *Civill State*, but burns up *Branch*

and

and *Root*, yet how doe all pretend an *holy War*? He that *kills*, and hee that's *killed*, they both cry out, It is for *God*, and for their *conscience*.

Tis true, nor one nor other seldome dare to plead the mighty Prince *Christ Jesus* for their *Authour*, yet both (both *Protestant* and *Papist*) pretend they have spoke with *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who all, say they (before *Christ* came) allowed such *holy persecutions*, *holy Warres* against the enemies of holy *Church*.

Persecutors seldom plead Christ, but Moses for their Author.

Truth. Deare Peace (to ease thy first *complaint*) tis true, thy dearest *Sons*, most like their mother, *Peace-keeping*, *Peace-making* Sons of *God*, have borne and still must beare the *blurs* of *troublers* of *Israel*, and turners of the *World* upside downe. And tis true againe, what *Salomon* once spake: The *beginning* of *strife* is as when one letteth out *Water*, therefore (saith he) leave off *contention* before it be medled with. This *Caveat* should keepe the *bankes* and *sluces* firme and strong, that *strife*, like a *breach of waters*, breake not in upon the sons of men.

Strife distinguished.

Yet *strife* must be distinguished: It is *necessary* or *unnecessary*, *godly* or *ungodly*, *Christian* or *unchristian*, &c.

1. Ungodly strife.

It is *unnecessary*, *unlawfull*, *dishonourable*, *ungodly*, *unchristian*, in most cases in the world, for there is a *possibility* of keeping *sweet Peace* in most cases, and if it be *possible*, it is the expresse command of *God* that *Peace* be kept, *Rom.* 13.

2. Godly strife.

Againe, it is *necessary*, *honourable*, *godly*, &c. with *civill* and earthly *weapons* to *defend* the *innocent*, and to *rescue* the oppressed from the violent *pawes* and *jaws* of oppressing persecuting *Nimrods*, *Psal.* 73. *Job* 29.

It is as *necessary*, yea more *honourable*, *godly*, and *Christian*, to *fight* the *fight* of *faith*, with *religious* and *spirituall Artillery*, and to *contend earnestly* for the *faith* of *Jesus*, *once* delivered to the *Saints* against all *opposers*, and the *gates* of *earth* and *hell*, *men* or *devils*, yea against *Paul* himselfe, or an *Angell* from *heaven*, if he bring any other *faith* or *doctrine*, *Jude vers.* 4. *Gal.* 1. 8.

A threefold dolefull cry.

Peace. With the *clashing* of such *Armes* am I never *wakened*. Speake once againe (deare Truth) to my second *complaint* of bloody *persecution*, and devouring *wars*, marching under the colours of upright *Justice*, and holy *Zeale*, &c.

Christs worship is his bed, Cant. 1. 16

Truth. Mine eares have long beene filled with a threefold dolefull *Outcry*.

False worship therefore is a false bed.

First, of one hundred forty foure thousand *Virgins* (*Rev.* 14) forc'd and ravisht by *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Governours* to their beds of *worship* and *Religion*, set up (like *Absaloms*) on high in their severall *States* and *Countries*.

The cry of the soules under the Altar.

Secondly, the cry of those precious *soules* under the *Altar* (*Rev.* 6.) the *soules* of such as have beene persecuted and slaine for the testimony and *witnesse* of *Jesus*, whose *blond* hath beene spilt like *water* upon the *earth*, and that because they have held fast the *truth* and *witnesse* of *Jesus*, against the *worship* of the *States* and *Times*, compelling to an *uniformity* of *State Religion*.

These *cries* of *murthered Virgins* who can sit still and heare? Who can but run with zeale inflamed to prevent the *deflowring* of *chaste soules*, and spilling of the *blond* of the *innocent*? *Humanity* stirs up and prompts the *Sonnes* of men to draw *materiall swords* for a *Virgins chastity* and *life*, against a *ravishing murtherer*? And *Piety* and *Christianity* must needs awaken the *Sons of God* to draw the *spirituall sword* (the Word of *God*) to preserve the *chastity* and *life* of *spirituall Virgins*, who abhorre the spirituall *defilements* of *false worship*, *Rev.* 14.

A cry of the whole earth.

Thirdly, the *cry* of the *whole earth*, made *drunke* with the *blond* of its *inhabitants*, slaughtering each other in their *blinded zeale*, for *Conscience*, for *Religion*, against the *Catholickes*, against the *Lutherans*, &c.

What fearfull *cries* within these twenty years of hundred *thousands* men, women, children, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brethren, sisters, old and young, high and low, *plundred*, *ravished*, *slaughtered*, *murthered*, *famished*? And hence these cries, that men sling away the *spirituall sword and spirituall artillery* (in *spirituall* and *religious* causes) and rather trust for the suppressing of each others *God*, *Conscience*, and *Religion* (as they suppose) to an *arme* of *flesh*, and *sword* of *steele*?

Truth. *Sweet Peace*, what hast thou there?

Peace. *Arguments* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. And what there?

Peace. An *Answer* to such *Arguments*, contrarily maintaining such *persecution* for *cause* of *Conscience*.

The wonderfull providēce of God in the writing of the Arguments against persecution in Milke.

Truth. These *Arguments* against such *persecution*, and the *Answer* pleading for it, written (as *Love* hopes) from godly *intentions*, *hearts*, and *hands*, yet in a marvellous different *stile* and *manner*. The *Arguments* against *persecution* in *milke*, the *Answer* for it (as I may say) in *bloud*.

The *Authour* of these *Arguments* (against *persecution*) (as I have beene informed) being committed by *some* then in power, *close prisoner* to *Newgate*, for the witnesse of some *truths* of *Jesus*, and having not the use of *Pen* and *Inke*, wrote these *Arguments* in *Milke*, in sheets of Paper, brought to him by the *Woman* his *Keeper*, from a friend in *London*, as the *stopples* of his *Milk bottle*.

In

In such Paper written with *Milk* nothing will appeare, but the way of reading it by *fire* being knowne to this *friend* who received the Papers, he transcribed and kept together the Papers, although the *Author* himselfe could not correct, nor view what himselfe had written.

It was in *milke*, tending to soule *nourishment*, even for *Babes* and Sucklings in *Christ*.

It was in *milke*, spiritually *white*, pure and innocent, like those *white horses* of the *Word* of *truth* and *meeknesse*, and the *white Linnen* or *Armour* of *righteousnesse*, in the *Army* of *Jesus*. *Rev.*6.& 19.

It was in *milke*, soft, meeke, peaceable and gentle, tending both to the *peace* of *soules*, and the *peace* of *States* and Kingdomes.

Peace. The *Answer* (though I hope out of milkie pure intentions) is returned in *bloud*: *bloudy* & slaughterous *conclusions*; *bloudy* to the *souls* of all men, forc'd to the *Religion* and *Worship* which every civil State or Common-weale agrees on, and compells all subjects to in a dissembled *uniformitie*. The Answer writ in Bloud.

Bloudy to the *bodies*, first of the holy *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, who testifie against such invented worships.

Secondly, of the *Nations* and Peoples slaughtering each other for their severall respective Religions and Consciences.

CHAP. III.

Truth. IN the Answer Mr. *Cotton* first layes downe severall *distinctions* and *conclusions* of his owne, tending to prove persecution.

Secondly, *Answers* to the *Scriptures*, and *Arguments* proposed against *persecution*.

Peace. The first distinction is this: By persecution for cause of *Conscience*, "I conceive you meane either for professing some point of "*doctrine* which you beleeve in *conscience* to be the *truth*, or for *practising* some worke which you beleeve in *conscience* to be a *religious* dutie. The first distinctiō discussed.

Truth. I acknowledge that to molest any person, *Jew* or *Gentile*, for either professing *doctrine*, or practising *worship* meerly *religious* or spirituall, it is to persecute him, and such a person (what ever his *doctrine* or *practice* be true or *false*) suffereth persecution for *conscience*. Definition of persecution discussed.

But withall I desire it may bee well observed, that this *distinction* is not full and complete: For beside this that a man may be persecuted

beeause he holdeth or practiseth what he beleeves in *conscience* to be a *Truth*, (as *Daniel* did, for which he was cast into the *Lyons* den, *Dan.* 6.) and many thousands of *Christians*, becaus they durst not cease to *preach* and *practise* what they beleeved was by *God* commanded, as the *Apostles* answered (*Acts* 4 & 5.) I say besides this a man may also be persecuted, becaus hee dares not be *constrained* to yeeld obedience to such *doctrines* and *worships* as are by men invented and appointed. So the three famous *Jewes* were cast into the fiery furnace for refusing to fall downe (in a *non-conformity* to the whole conforming world) before the golden *Image*, Dan. 3. 21. So thousands of *Christs witnesses* (and of late in those bloudy *Marian* dayes) have rather chose to yeeld their *bodies* to all sorts of *torments*, then to subscribe to *doctrines*, or practise *worships*, unto which the States and Times (as *Nabuchadnezzar* to his golden *Image*) have compelled and urged them.

Conscience will not be restrained from its own worship, nor constrained to another.

A chaste wife will not onely abhorre to be restrained from her *husbands bed*, as adulterous and polluted, but also abhor (if not much more) to bee constrained to the *bed* of a *stranger*. And what is abominable in *corporall*, is much more loathsome in *spirituall whoredome* and defilement.

A chaste soule in Gods worship like a chast wife.

The Spouse of *Christ Jesus* who could not finde her soules beloved in the *wayes* of his *worship* and *Ministery*, (*Cant.* 1. 3. and 5. Chapters) abhorred to turne aside to other *Flockes*, *Worships*, &c. and to imbrace the bosome of a false *Christ*, *Cant.* 1. 8.

CHAP. IV.

Peace. The second distinction is this.

The second distinction discussed.

In points of Doctrine some are fundamentall, without right beleefe whereof a man cannot be saved: others are circumstantiall and lesse principall, wherein a man may differ in judgement without prejudice of salvation on either part.

Truth. To this *distinction* I dare not subscribe, for then I should everlastingly condemne thousands, and ten thousands, yea the whole *generation* of the *righteous*, who since the falling away (from the first primitive *Christian* state or *worship*) have and doe erre fundamentally concerning the true *matter*, *constitution*, *gathering* and *governing* of the *Church*: and yet farre be it from any pious *breast* to imagine that they are not saved, and that their soules are not bound up in the bundle of *eternall life*.

Gods people may erre from the very fundamentals of visible worship.

We reade of foure sorts of spirituall or Christian *foundations* in the *New Testament*.

First,

First, the *Foundation* of all *foundations*, the Corner-stone it selfe, the *Lord Jesus*, on whom all depend, *Persons*, *Doctrines*, *Practices*, 1 Cor. 3. 4 sorts of spirituall Foundations.

2. *Ministeriall foundations*. The *Church* is built upon the *foundation* of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, Ephes. 2. 20.

3. The *foundation* of future rejoycing in the fruits of *Obedience*, 1 *Tim*. 6.

4. The *foundation* of *Doctrines*, without the *knowledge* of which, there can be no true profession of *Christ*, according to the first *institution*, *Heb*. 6. The *foundation* or *principles* of *Repentance* from dead works, *Faith* towards *God*, the Doctrine of *Baptisme*, *Laying on of Hands*, the *Resurrection*, and *Eternall Judgement*. In some of these, to wit, those concerning *Baptismes*, & *Laying on of Hands*, *Gods* people will be found to be ignorant for many hundred yeares; and I yet cannot see it proved that *light* is risen, I mean the *light* of the first *institution*, in practice. στοιχεῖα θεμελιοῦ. The sixe Foundations of the Christian Religion or Worship.

Gods people in their persons, *Heart-making* (*Cant*. 5. 2.) in the life of *personall grace*, will yet be found fast asleep in respect of *publike Christian Worship*.

Gods people (in their *persons*) are *His*, most deare and precious: yet in respect of the *Christian Worship* they are mingled amongst the *Babylonians*, from whence they are called to come out, not *locally* (as some have said) for that belonged to a materiall and locall *Babell*, (and, literall *Babell* and *Jerusalem* have now no difference, *John* 4. 21.) but *spiritually* and mystically to come out from her sins and *Abominations*. Comming out of Babell, not locall but mystical.

If Mr. *Cotton* maintaine the true *Church* of *Christ* to consist of the true *matter* of *holy persons* call'd out from the World; and the true *forme* of *Union* in a *Church-Covenant*; And that also, neither *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, nor *Diocesan* Churches are of *Christs institution*: how many Thousands of *Gods* people of all sorts, (*Clergie* and *Laitie*, as they call them) will they finde both in former and later times, captivated in such *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan* Churches? yea and so far from living in, yea or knowing of any such *Churches* (for matter and forme) as they conceive now only to be true, that untill of late yeares, how few of *Gods* people knew any other *Church* then the *Parish Church* of dead stones or timber? It being a late marvailous *light* revealed by *Christ Jesus* the Sun of *Righteousnesse*, that his people are a *Company* or *Church* of living stones, 1 *Pet*. 2. 9. The great Ignorance of Gods people concerning the Nature of the true Church.

And however his own Soule, and the soules of many others (precious to *God*) are perswaded to separate from *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan Churches*, and to assemble into particular *Churches*: yet since

Mr. *Cotton* & all the Halfe Seperates, halting between true & falſ Churches, and conſequently, not yet clear in the fundamentall matter of a Chriſt ã Church.

there are no *Pariſh Churches* in *England*, but what are made up of the *Pariſh* bounds within ſuch and ſuch a compaſſe of *houſes*; and that ſuch *Churches* have beene and are in conſtant dependance on, and ſubordination to the *Nationall Church*: how can the *New-Engliſh particular Churches* joyne with the *Old Engliſh Pariſh Churches* in ſo many *Ordinances* of *Word, Prayer, Singing, Contribution, &c.* but they muſt needs confeſſe, that as yet their Soules are farre from the *knowledge* of the *foundation* of a true *Chriſtian Church*, whoſe matter muſt not only be living ſtones, but alſo ſeperated from the *rubbiſh* of *Antichriſtian confuſions* and *deſolations*.

CHAP. V.

Peace. VVIth lamentation I may adde: How can their Soules be cleare in this *foundation* of the true *Chriſtian* matter, who perſecute and oppreſſe their own (acknowledged) Brethren preſenting Light unto them about this Point? But I ſhall now preſent you with Mr. *Cottons* third *diſtinction*. "In point of Practice (ſaith he) ſome "concerne the weightier duties of the Law, as, What God we wor-"ſhip, and with what kind of Worſhip: whether ſuch, as if it be Right, "fellowſhip with God is held; if falſe, fellowſhip with God is loſt.

Truth. It is worth the inquirie, what kind of *Worſhip* he intendeth; for *Worſhip* is of various ſignification: whether in generall acceptation he meane the *rightneſſe* or *corruptneſſe* of the *Church*, or the *Miniſtry* of the *Church*, or the Miniſtrations of the *Word, Prayer, Seales, &c.*

The true Miniſtrie a Fundamentall.

And becauſe it pleaſeth the *Spirit* of *God* to make the *Miniſtry* one of the *foundations* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, (*Heb.* 6. 12.) and alſo to make the *Miniſtrie* of the *Word* and *Prayer* in the *Church*, to be two ſpeciall works (even of the Apoſtles themſelves) *Acts* 6. 2. I ſhall deſire it may be well conſidered in the feare of *God*.

First, concerning the *Miniſtery* of the *Word*; The *New-Engliſh Miniſters*, when they were new elected & ordained *Miniſters* in *New England*, muſt undeniably grant, that at that time they were no *Miniſters*, notwithſtanding their profeſſion of ſtanding ſo long in a true *Miniſtry* in *Old England*, whether received from the Biſhops (which ſome have maintained true) or from the People, which Mr. *Cotton* & others better liked, and which *Miniſtrie* was alwayes accounted perpetuall and indelible: I apply, and aske, Will it not follow, that if their new *Miniſtry* and *Ordination* be true, the former was falſe? and if falſe, that in the exer-

The New Engliſh Miniſters examined.

exercise of it (notwithstanding *abilities, graces, intentions, labours*, and (by Gods gracious, unpromised, & extraordinary blessing) some *successe*) I say, will it not according to this distinction follow, that according to visible *rule, Fellowship* with *God* was lost?

Secondly, concerning *Prayer*; The *New-English Ministers* have disclaimed and written against that *worshipping* of *God* by the *Common* or set formes of *Prayer*, which yet themselves practised in *England*, notwithstanding they knew that many servants of *God* in great sufferings witnessed against such a *Ministrie* of the *Word*, and such a *Mimstrie* of *Prayer*.

Common Prayer cast off, & written against by the New-English.

Peace. I could name the *persons, time* and *place*, when some of them were faithfully admonished for using of the *Common prayer*, and the Arguments presented to them, then seeming weake, but now acknowledged sound: yet at that time they satisfied their hearts with the practice of the *Author* of the *Councell* of *Trent*, who used to read only some of the choicest selected Prayers in the *Masse-booke*, (which I confesse was also their own practice in their using of the *Common-Prayer*.) But now according to this *distinction*, I ask whether or no fellowship with *God* in such prayers was lost.

Truth. I could particularize other *exercises* of *Worship*, which cannot be denied (according to this *distinction*) to be of the *waightier points* of the *Law*, to wit, [What *God* we *worship*, and with what kind of *worship*:] wherein fellowship with *God* (in many of our unclean and abominable *Worships*) hath been lost. Only upon these premises I shall observe. First, that *Gods* people, even the *standard-bearers* and *leaders* of them (according to this distinction) have worshipped *God* (in their sleepy *ignorance*) by such a kind of *Worship*, as wherein *fellowship* with *God* is lost; yea also this it is possible for them to do, after much *light* is risen against such *Worship*, and in particular, brought to the eyes of such *holy* and *worthy* persons.

Gods people have worshipped God with false worships.

Secondly, there may be inward and secret *fellowship* with *God* in false *Ministeries* of *Word* and *Prayer*, (for that to the eternall prayse of *Infinite Mercy* beyond a word or promise of *God* I acknowledge) when yet (as the distinction saith) in such *worship* (not being *right*) *fellowship* with *God* is lost, and such a *service* or *ministration* must be lamented and forsaken.

It pleaseth God sometimes, beyond his promise, to convey blessings & comfort to His, in false worships.

Thirdly, I observe that *Gods people* may live and die in such kindes of *worship*, notwithstanding that *light* from *God* publikely and privately, hath beene presented to them, able to convince: yet not reaching to their

their *conviction* and forsaking of such wayes, contrary to a *conclusion* afterward expresst, to wit, [That *fundamentals* are so cleere, that a man cannot but be convinced in *Conscience*, and therefore that such a person not being convinced, he is *condemned of himselfe*, and may be *persecuted* for sinning against his *conscience*.]

Fundamentals of Christian worship not so easie and cleare.

Fourthly, I observe that in such a maintaining a clearnesse of *fundamentals* or waightier *points*, and upon that ground a persecuting of men, because they sinne against their *consciences*, Mr. *Cotton* measures that to *others*, which himselfe when he lived in such *practices*, would not have had measured to himselfe. As first, that it might have beene affirmed of him, that in such *practices* he did sinne against his *conscience*, having sufficient light shining about him.

Secondly, that hee should or might lawfully have beene cut off by *death* or *banishment*, as an *Hereticke*, sinning against his owne *conscience*.

A notable speech of K. *Iames* to a great non-conformist, turned persecuter.

And in this respect the Speech of King *Iames* was notable to a great *Non-conformitant* converted (as is said by King *Iames*) to *conformity*, and counselling the *King* afterward to persecute the *Non-conformists* even unto *death*: Thou *Beast* (quoth the *King*) if I had dealt so with thee in thy *non-conformity*, where hadst thou beene?

CHAP. VI.

The 4. distinctiō discussed.

Peace. THe next *distinction* concerning the manner of *persons* holding forth the aforesaid *practices* (not onely the *waightier duties* of the *Law*, but points of *doctrine* and *worship* lesse principall.)

"Some (saith he) hold them forth in a *meeke* and *peaceable* way: some "with such *arrogance* and *impetuousnesse*, as of it selfe tendeth to the "disturbance of *civill peace*.

Truth. In the examination of this *distinction* we shall discusse,

First, what is *civill Peace*, (wherein we shall vindicate thy name the better.)

Secondly, what it is to hold forth a Doctrine or Practice in this *impetuousnesse* or *arrogancy*.

What civill peace is.

First, for *civill peace*, what is it but *pax civitatis*, the peace of the Citie, whether an *English* City, *Scotch*, or *Irish* Citie, or further abroad, *French*, *Spanish*, *Turkish* City, &c.

Thus it pleased the Father of *Lights* to define it, *Ierem.* 29. 7. Pray for the *peace* of the *City*; which *peace* of the *City*, or *Citizens*, so compacted in a *civill* way of *union*, may be intire, unbroken, safe, &c. notwith-

withstanding so many thousands of *Gods people* the *Jewes*, were there in *bondage*, and would neither be *constrained* to the *worship* of the Citie *Babell*, nor restrained from so much of the *worship* of the true *God*, as they then could practice, as is plaine in the practice of the 3 Worthies, *Shadrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, as also of *Daniel*, *Dan.*3. & *Dan.*6. (the peace of the *City* or *Kingdome*, being a far different Peace from the Peace of the *Religion* or Spirituall *Worship*, maintained & professed of the Citizens. This *Peace* of their *worship* (which *worship* also in some Cities being various) being a false Peace, *Gods people* were and ought to be *Nonconformitants*, not daring either to be *restrained* from the *true*, or *constrained* to *false Worship*, and yet without *breach* of the Civill or *Citie-peace*, properly so called.

Gods people must be Nonconformitants to Evill.

Peace. Hence it is that so many glorious and flourishing *Cities* of the World maintaine their *Civill* peace, yea the very *Americans* & wildest *Pagans* keep the peace of their *Towns* or *Cities*; though neither in one nor the other can any man prove a true *Church* of God in those places, and consequently no spirituall and heavenly peace: The Peace *spirituall* (whether true or false) being of a higher and farre different nature from the Peace of the place or people, being meerly and essentially *civill* and *humane*.

The difference between Spirituall and Civill Peace.

Truth. O how lost are the sonnes of men in this point? To illustrate this: The *Church* or *company* of *worshippers* (whether true or false) is like unto a Body or Colledge of *Physitians* in a *Citie*; like unto a *Corporation*, *Society*, *or Company* of *East-Indie* or *Turkie-Merchants*, or any other *Societie* or *Company* in *London*: which Companies may hold their *Courts*, keep their *Records*, hold *disputations*; and in matters concerning their *Societie*, may dissent, divide, breake into *Schismes* and *Factions*, sue and implead each other at the *Law*, yea wholly breake up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the *peace* of the *Citie* not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the *essence* or being of the *Citie*, and so the *well-being* and *peace* thereof is essentially distinct from those particular *Societies*; the *Citie-Courts*, *Citie-Lawes*, *Citie-punishments* distinct from theirs. The *Citie* was before them, and stands absolute and intire, when such a *Corporation* or *Societie* is taken down. For instance further, The *City* or *Civill state* of *Ephesus* was essentially distinct from the *worship* of *Diana* in the Citie, or of the *whole city*. Againe, the *Church* of *Christ* in *Ephesus* (which were Gods people, converted and call'd out from the *worship* of that *City* unto *Christianitie* or *worship* of *God* in *Christ*) was distinct from both.

The difference between the Spirituall and Civill State.

The Civil State, the Spirituall estate, and the Church of Christ distinct in Ephesus.

Now suppose that *God* remove the *Candlestick* from *Ephesus*, yea though the *whole Worship* of the *Citie of Ephesus* should be altered: yet (if men be true and honestly ingenuous to *Citie-covenants*, *Combinations* and *Principles*) all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the Peace of the *City* of *Ephesus*.

Thus in the Citie of *Smirna* was the Citie it selfe or Civill estate one thing, The Spirituall or Religious state of *Smirna*, another; The Church of *Christ* in *Smirna*, distinct from them both; and the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes*, whether literally *Jewes* (as some thinke) or mystically, false *Christians*, (as others) called the *Synagogue* of *Sathan*, Revel. 2. distinct from all these. And notwithstanding these spirituall oppositions in point of *Worship* and *Religion*, yet heare we not the least noyse (nor need we, if Men keep but the Bond of *Civility*) of any *Civill breach*, or *breach* of *Civill peace* amongst them: and to persecute Gods people there for Religion, that only was a breach of Civilitie it selfe.

CHAP. VII.

Peace. NOw to the second Quærie, What it is to hold forth Doctrine or Practice in an arrogant or impetuous way?

The Answerer too obscure in generalls.

Truth. Although it hath not pleased Mr. *Cotton* to declare what is this *arrogant* or *impetuous* holding forth of *Doctrine* or *Practice* tending to disturbance of *Civill peace*, I cannot but expresse my sad and sorrowfull observation, how it pleaseth *God* to leave him, as to take up the common reproachfull *accusation* of the *Accuser* of *Gods* children; to wit, that they are arrogant and impetuous: which charge (together with that of *obstinacie*, *pertinacie*, *pride*, *Troublers* of the Citie, &c.) *Sathan* commonly loads the meekest of the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* with.

Gods meekest servants use to be counted arrogant and impetuous.

To wipe off therefore these fowle *blurs* and *aspersions* from the faire and beautifull face of the *Spouse* of *Jesus*, I shall select and propose 5 or 6 cases, for which *Gods witnesses* in all Ages and Generations of Men, have been charged with *arrogance*, *impetuousnes*, &c. and yet the *God* of *Heaven*, and *Iudge* of all men, hath graciously discharged them from such crimes, and maintained and avowed them for his *faithfull* and *peaceable* servants.

6 cases wherein Gods people have been bold & zealous, yet not arrogant.

First, *Gods* people have *proclaimed*, *taught*, *disputed* for divers months together, a *new Religion* and *Worship*, contrary to the *Worship* projected in

in the *Towne*, *City*, or *State*, where they have travelled, as did the *Lord Jesus Himselfe* over *all Galile*, and the *Apostles* after Him in all places, both in the *Synagogues* and *Market-places*, as appeares *Acts* 17.2.17. *Acts* 18.48. Yet this no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Christ Jesus and his Disciples teach publikely a new Doctrine, fundamentally different from the Rel gion profest.

Secondly, Gods *servants* have been *zealous* for their *Lord* and *Master*, even to the very faces of the Highest, and concerning the persons of the Highest, so far as they have opposed the *Truth* of God: So *Eliah* to the face of *Ahab*, It is not *I*, but *thou*, and thy *Fathers* house that troublest *Israel*: So the *Lord Jesus* concerning *Herod*, Goe tell that *Fox*: So *Paul*, God delivered me from the mouth of the *Lion*; and to *Ananias*, Thou *whited wall*, and yet in all this no *Arrogance*, nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Gods servants zealous and bold to the faces of the Highest.

Thirdly, *Gods people* have been *immoveable*, *constant* and *resolved* to the *death*, in refusing to submit to false *Worships*, and in *preaching* and *professing* the true *worship*, contrary to expresse command of *publicke Authority*; So the three *famous Worthies* against the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the uniforme *conformity* of all *Nations* agreeing upon a false *worship*, *Dan.*3. So the Apostles (*Acts* 4 and 5 chap.) and so the witnesses of *Jesus* in all ages, who loved not their lives to the *death* (*Rev.*12.) not regarding sweet *life* nor bitter *death*, and yet not *Arrogant*, nor *Impetuous*.

Gods people constantly immoveable to death.

Fourthly, *Gods people* since the comming of the *King* of *Israel*, the *Lord Jesus*, have openly and constantly profest, that no Civill *Magistrate*, no *King* nor *Cæsar* have any power over the *Soules* or *Consciences* of their Subjects, in the matters of *God* and the *Crowne* of *Jesus*, but the *Civill Magistrates* themselves; yea *Kings* and *Keisars* are bound to subject their owne soules to the *Ministery* and *Church*, the *Power* and *Government* of this *Lord Iesus*, the *King* of *Kings*. Hence was the charge against the *Apostles* (false in *Civill*, but true in *spirituals*) that they affirmed that there was another *King*, one *Iesus*, *Acts* 17.7. And indeed, this was the great charge against the *Lord Iesus Himself*, which the *Iews* laid against Him, and for which he suffered Death, as appears by the Accusation written over His Head upon the Gallows, *Iohn* 9.19. *Iesus of Nazareth King of the Iewes*.

Gods people ever maintained Christ Jesus the only Lord and King to the conscience.

This was and is the summe of all true preaching of the Gospell or glad newes, *viz.* That God anointed Jesus to be the sole King and Governour of all the Israel of God in spirituall and soule causes, *Psal.* 2.6. *Acts* 2.36. Yet this Kingly power of His he resolved not to man-

That Christ is King alone over conscience is the sum of all true preaching.

age in His owne Person, but Ministerially in the hands of such Messengers which he sent forth to preach and baptise, and to such as beleeved that word they preached, *Iohn* 17. And yet here no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

5. *Gods people* in delivering the Minde and Will of God concerning the Kingdomes and Civill States where they have lived, have seemed in all shew of common sense and rationall policie (if men looke not higher with the eye of faith) to endanger and overthrow the very Civill State, as appeareth by all *Jeremies* preaching and counsell to King *Zedechia*, his Princes and people, insomuch that the charge of the Princes against *Jeremiah* was, that he discouraged the Army from fighting against the Babylonians, and weakned the Land from its own defence, and this charge in the eye of reason, seemed not to be unreasonable or unrighteous, *Jer.* 37.38. chapters, and yet in *Jeremy* no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Gods people have seemed the disturbers of Civill State.

6. Lastly, *Gods people* by their preaching, disputing, &c. have beene (though not the cause) yet accidentally the occasion of great contentions and divisions, yea tumults and uproares in Townes and Cities where they have lived and come, and yet neither their Doctrine nor themselves *Arrogant* nor *Impetuous*, however so charged: For thus the Lord Jesus discovereth mens false and secure suppositions, *Luke* 11.51. *Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on the earth? I tell you nay, but rather division, for from hence forth shall there be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three, the father shall be divided against the sonne, and the sonne against the father, &c.* And thus upon the occasion of the Apostles preaching, the Kingdome and Worship of God in Christ, were most commonly uproares and tumults, where ever they came: For instance, those strange and monstrous uproares at *Iconium*, at *Ephesus*, at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 14.4. *Acts* 19.29.40. *Acts* 21. *vers.* 30,31.

Gods word and people the occasion of tumults.

CHAP. VIII.

Peace. IT will be said (deare *Truth*) what the Lord Jesus and his Messengers taught was *Truth*, but the question is about Errour.

Truth. I answer, this distinction now in discussion, concernes not *Truth*, or Errour, but the manner of holding forth or divulging.

I acknowledge that such may bee the way and manner of holding forth, (either with railing or reviling, daring or chalenging speeches, or with force of Armes, Swords, Guns, Prisons, &c.) that it may not only tend to breake, but may actually breake the civill peace, or peace of the Citie. The instances propounded carry a great shew of impetuousnesse, yet all are pure and peaceable.

Yet these instances propounded are cases of great opposition and spirituall hostility, and occasions of breach of civill peace: and yet as the borders (or matter) were of gold: so the speckes (or manner, *Cantic.* 1.) were of silver: both matter and manner, pure, holy, peaceable, and inoffensive.

Moreover, I answer, that it is possible and common for persons of soft and gentle nature and spirits to hold out falshood with more seeming meeknesse and peaceablenesse, then the Lord Jesus or his servants did or doe hold forth the true and everlasting Gospell. So that the answerer would be requested to explain what he means by this arrogant and impetuous holding forth of any doctrine, which very manner of holding forth tends to breake civill peace, and comes under the cognisance and correction of the Civill Magistrate: Lest hee build the Sepulchre of the Prophets, and say, If we had been in the Pharises daies, the Romane Emperours dayes, or the bloody *Marian* dayes, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, *Mat.* 23.30. who were charged with arrogance and impetuousnesse.

CHAP. IX.

2. *Ob.* IT will here be said, Whence then ariseth civill dissentions and *Peace.* unproares about matters of Religion?

Truth. I answer: When a Kingdome or State, Towne or Family, lyes and lives in the guilt of a false God, false Christ, false worship: no wonder if sore eyes be troubled at the appearance of the light, be it never so sweet: No wonder if a body full of corrupt humours be troubled at strong (though wholsome) Physick? If persons sleepy and loving to sleepe be troubled at the noise of shrill (though silver) alarums: No wonder if *Adonijah* and all his company be amazed and troubled at the sound of the right Heyre King *Salomon*, 1 *King.* 1. If the Husbandmen were troubled when the Lord of the Vineyard sent servant after servant, and at last his onely Sonne, and they beat, and wounded, and kill'd even the Sonne himselfe, because they meant themselves to seize upon the inheritance, unto which they had no right, *Matth.* 21. 38. The true cause of tumults at the preaching of the Word.

Hence all those tumults about the Apostles in the *Acts*, &c. whereas good eyes are not so troubled at light; vigilant and watchfull persons so yall and faithfull, are not so troubled at the true, no nor at a false Religion of Jew or Gentile.

A prepostterous way of suppressing errours.

Secondly, breach of civil peace may arise, when false and idolatrous practices are held forth, & yet no breach of civil peace from the doctrine or practice, or the manner of holding forth, but from that wrong and prepostterous way of suppressing, preventing, and extinguishing such doctrines or practices by weapons of wrath and blood, whips, stockes, imprisonment, banishment, death, &c. by which men commonly are perswaded to convert Heretickes, and to cast out uncleane spirits, which onely the finger of God can doe, that is the mighty power of the Spirit in the Word.

Light only can expell fogs and darkenesse.

Hence the Towne is in an uproare, and the Country takes the Alarum to expell that fog or mist of Errour, Heresie, Blasphemy, (as is supposed) with Swords and Guns; whereas tis Light alone, even Light from the bright shining Sunne of Righteousnesse, which is able, in the soules and consciences of men to dispell and scatter such fogges and darkenesse.

Hence the Sons of men, (as *David* speakes in another case, *Psal.* 39.) disquiet themselves in vaine, and unmercifully disquiet others, as (by the helpe of the Lord) in the sequell of this discourse shall more appeare.

CHAP. X.

Peace. NOw the last distinction is this: "Persecution for Conscience, is either for a rightly informed conscience, or a "blinde and erroneous conscience.

Answ. Truth. Indeed both these consciences are persecuted: but lamentably blinde and erronious will these consciences shortly appear to be, which out of zeale for God (as is pretended) have persecuted either. And heavie is the doome of those blinde Guides and Idoll Shepherds (whose right eye Gods finger of jealousie hath put out) who flattering the ten Hornes or worldly Powers, perswade them what excellent and faithfull service they performe to God, in persecuting both these consciences: either hanging up a rightly informed conscience, and therein the Lord Jesus himselfe, betweene two malefactors, or else killing the erroneous and the blinde, like *Saul* (out of zeale to the Israel

Persecutors oppresse both true and erroneous consciences.

rael of God) the poore Gibeonites, whom it pleased God to permit to live: and yet that hostility and cruelty used against them (as the repeated judgement yeare after yeare upon the whole Land after told them) could not be pardoned, untill the death of the persecutor *Saul* his sons had appeased the Lords displeasure, 2 *Sam.* 21.

CHAP. XI.

Peace. After explication in these Distinctions, it pleaseth the Answerer to give his resolution to the question in foure particulars.

First, that he holds it not lawfull to persecute any for conscience sake rightly informed, for in persecuting such (saith he) Christ himself is persecuted: for which reason truly rendred, he quotes *Act.* 9. 4. *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

Truth. He that shall reade this Conclusion over a thousand times, shall as soone finde darkneſse in the bright beames of the Sunne, as in this so cleare and shining a beame of Truth, *viz.* That Christ Jesus in his Truth must not be persecuted.

Yet this I must aske (for it will be admired by all sober men) what should be the cause or inducement to the Answerers mind to lay down such a Position or Thesis as this is, *It is not lawfull to persecute the Lord Jesus.*

Search all Scriptures, Histories, Records, Monuments, consult with all experiences, did ever *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Ahab*, *Jezabel*, Scribes and Pharises, the Jewes, *Herod*, the bloudy *Neroes*, *Gardiners*, *Boners*, Pope or Devill himselfe, professe to persecute the Son of God, Jesus as Jesus, Christ as Christ, without a mask or covering?

No, saith *Pharaoh*, the Israelites are idle, and therefore speake they of sacrificing: *David* is risen up in a conspiracy against *Saul*, therefore persecute him: *Naboth* hath blasphemed God and the King, therefore stone him: *Christ* is a seducer of the people, a blasphemer against God, and traytor against *Cæsar*, therefore hang him: Christians are schismaticall, factious, hereticall, therefore persecute them: The Devill hath deluded *John Hus*, therefore crowne him with a paper of Devils, and burne him, &c.

All persecutors of Christ professe not to persecute him.

Peace. One thing I see apparantly in the Lords over-ruling the pen of this worthy Answerer, *viz.* a secret whispering from heaven to him, that (although his soules ayme at Christ, and hath wrought much for Christ

All persecutors of Christ, professe not to persecute him

Christ in many sincere intentions, and Gods mercifull and patient acceptance) yet he hath never left the Tents of such who think they doe God good service in killing the Lord Jesus in his servants, and yet they say, if we had beene in the dayes of our Fathers in Queene *Maries* dayes, &c. we would never have consented to such persecution: And therefore when they persecute Christ Jesus in his truths or servants, they say, Doe not say you are persecuted for the Word for Christ his sake, for we hold it not lawfull to persecute Iesus Christ.

Let me also adde a second; So farre as he hath beene a Guide (by preaching for persecution) I say, wherein he hath beene a Guide and Leader, by mis-interpreting and applying the Writings of Truth, so far I say his owne mouthes and hands shall judge (I hope not his persons, but) his actions, for the Lord Jesus hath suffered by him, *Act.* 9. 3. and if the Lord Jesus himselfe were present, himselfe should suffer that in his owne person, which his servants witnessing his Truth doe suffer for his sake.

CHAP. XII.

Peace. THeir second Conclusion is this: "It is not lawfull to persecute an erroneous and blinde conscience, even in fundamentall and weighty points, till after admonition once or twice, "*Tit.* 3. 11. and then such consciences may be persecuted, because the "Word of God is so cleare in fundamentall and weighty points, that "such a person cannot but sin against his conscience, and so being condemned of himselfe, that is, of his conscience, hee may be persecuted "for sinning against his owne conscience.

Truth. I answer, in that great battell betweene the Lord Jesus and the Devill, it is observable that Sathan takes up the weapons of Scripture, and such Scripture which in shew and colour was excellent for his purpose: but in this 3. of *Titus*, as *Salomon* speakes of the Birds of heaven, *Prov.* 1. a man may evidently see the snare; and I know the time is comming wherein it shall bee said, Surely in vaine the Net is laid in the sight of the Saints (heavenly Birds.)

So palpably grosse and thicke is the mist and fog which Sathan hath raised about this Scripture, that he that can but see men as trees in matters of Gods worship, may easily discerne what a wonderfull deepe sleepe Gods people are fallen into concerning the visible Kingdome of Christ, in so much that this third of *Titus* which through fearfull prophanations,

phanations, hath ſo many hundred yeares been the pretended Bulwark and defence of all the bloudy Wolves, dens of Lions, and mountains of Leopards, hunting and devouring the Witneſſes of Jeſus, ſhould now be the refuge and defence of (as I hope) the Lambes and little ones of Jeſus, yet (in this point) ſo preaching and practiſing ſo unlike to themſelves, to the Lord Jeſus, and lamentably too like to His and their Perſecutors.

CHAP. XIII.

Peace. BRight *Truth*, ſince this place of *Titus* is ſuch a pretended Bulwark for perſecuting of Hereticks, & under that pretence of perſecuting all thy followers, I beſeech you by the bright beames of the Sun of Righteouſneſſe, ſcatter theſe miſts, and unfold theſe particulars out of the Text:

Firſt, What this Man is that is an Hereticke.

Secondly, How this Hereticke is condemned of himſelfe.

Thirdly, What is this firſt and ſecond Admonition, and by whom it is ſuppoſed to be given.

Fourthly, What is this rejecting of Him, and by whom it is ſuppoſed this Rejection was to be made.

Truth. Firſt, What is this Heretick? I find him commonly defined to be ſuch an one as is obſtinate in Fundamentalls, and ſo alſo I conceive the Anſwerer ſeems to recent him, ſaying, That the Apoſtle renders this reaſon, why after once and twice Admonition, he ought to be perſecuted, becauſe in fundamentall and principall points of Doctrine and Worſhip, the Word of God is ſo cleare, that the Hereticke cannot but be convinced in his owne Conſcience. What is meant by Hereticke in *Titus*.

But of this reaſon, I finde not one tittle mentioned in this Scripture; for although he ſaith ſuch an one is condemned of himſelfe, yet he ſaith not, nor will it follow that fundamentalls are ſo cleare, that after firſt and ſecond Admonition, a perſon that ſubmits not to them is condemned of himſelf, any more then in leſſer points. This 11 verſe hath reference to the former verſes. *Titus* an Evangeliſt, a Preacher of glad Newes, abiding here with the Church of Chriſt at Creet, is required by *Paul* to avoid, to reject, and to teach the Church to reject Geneologies, diſputes, and unprofitable queſtions about the Law: Such a like charge it is as he gave to *Timothy*, left alſo an Evangeliſt at Epheſus, 1 *Tim.* 1.4.

If it should be objected what is to be done to such contentious vain strivers about Genealogies and questions unprofitable? The Apostle seems plainly to answer, Let him be once and twice admonished.

Ob. Yea, but what if once and twice admonition prevaile not?

The Apostle seems to answer, αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον, and that is, the man that is wilfully obstinate after such once and twice admonition, Reject him.

With this Scripture agrees that of 1 *Tim.* 6. 4,5. where *Timothy* is commanded to withdraw himselfe from such who dote about questions and strife of words.

All which are points of a lower and inferiour nature, not properly falling within the tearms or notions of those (στοιχεῖα) first principles and (θεμελίου) foundations of the Christian Profession, to wit, Repentance from dead workes, Faith towards God, the doctrine of Baptismes, and of laying on of hands, the Resurrection, and eternall Judgement, *Heb.* 6. 2. &c.

Concerning these Fundamentalls (although nothing is so little in the Christian Worship, but may be referred to one of these six, yet) doth not *Paul* to *Timothy* or *Titus* speake in those places by me alledged, or of any of these, as may evidently appeare by the context and scope?

The beloved Spouse of Christ is no receptacle for any filthy person, obstinate in any filthynesse against the purity of the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his people to purge out the old leaven, not only greater portions, but a little leaven which will leaven the whole lumpe; and therefore this Hereticke or obstinate person in these vaine and unprofitable questions, was to be rejected, as well as if his obstinacie had been in greater matters.

Againe, if there were a doore or window left open to vaine and unprofitable questions, and sinnes of smaller nature, how apt are persons to cover with a silken covering, and to say, Why, I am no *Hereticke* in *Fundamentalls*, spare me in this or that *little* one; this or that *opinion* or *practice*, these are of an inferiour *circumstantiall* nature? &c.

So that the *coherence* with the former verses, and the *scope* of the *Spirit of God* in this and other like *Scriptures* being carefully observed, this *Greek* word *Hereticke* is no more in true *English* and in Truth, then an *obstinate* and *wilfull* person in the *Church* of *Crete*, striving and contending about those unprofitable *Questions* and *Genealogies*, &c. and is not such a *monster* intended in this place, as most *Interpreters* run upon, to wit, One *obstinate* in *Fundamentalls*, and as the *Answerer* makes the

The word Hereticke generally mistaken.

Apo-

Apostle to write in such *Fundamentalls* and *principall points*, wherein the Word of *God* is so cleare that a man cannot but be convinced in *conscience*, and therefore is not persecuted for matter of *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

CHAP. XIV.

Peace. NOw in the second place, What is this *Self-condemnation?*

Truth. The *Apostle* seemeth to make this a ground of the *rejecting* of such a person, because he is *subverted* and *sinneth*, being *condemned* of himselfe: It will appeare upon due search that this *self-condemning* is not here intended to be in Hereticks (as men say) in fundamentalls only, but as it is meant here, in men obstinate in the lesser Questions, &c.

First, he is *subverted* or turned crooked, ἐξεστραπται, a word opposite to *streightnesse* or *rightnesse*: So that the scope is, as I conceive, upon true and faithfull *admonition* once or twice, the pride of *heart*, or heat of *wrath*, drawes a *vaile* over the *eyes* and *heart*, so that the *soule* is turned loosed and from the checks of *truth*.

Secondly, he *sinneth*, ἁμαρτάνει, that is, being *subverted* or turned aside; he *sinneth* or wanders from the path of *Truth*, and is *condemned* by *himselfe* αὐτοκατάκριτος, that is, by the secret *checkes* and *whisperings* of his owne *conscience*, which will take *Gods* part against a mans selfe, in smiting, accusing, &c. Checks of conscience

Which checks of *conscience* we finde even in *Gods* owne dear people, as is most admirably opened in the 5 of *Cant.* in those sad, drowsie and unkinde *passages* of the *Sponse* in her *answer* to the *knocks* and *calls* of the *Lord Jesus*; which Gods people in all their awakening acknowledge how sleightly they have listned to the checks of their owne *consciences*. This the *Answerer* pleaseth to call sinning against his *conscience*, for which he may lawfully be persecuted, to wit, for sinning against his *conscience*.

Which *conclusion* (though painted over with the *vermillion* of *mistaken Scripture*, and that *old dreame* of *Jew* and *Gentile*, that the *Crowne* of *Jesus* will consist of outward *materiall gold*, and his *sword* be made of *iron* or *steele*, executing judgement in his *Church* and *Kingdome* by *corporall punishment*) I hope (by the assistance of the Lord Jesus) to manifest it to be the overturning and rooting up the very *foundation* and

roots of all true *Christianity*, and absolutely denying the *Lord Jesus* the Great *Anointed* to be yet come in the Flesh.

CHAP. XV.

THis will appeare, if we examine the two last *Quæries* of this place of *Titus*: to wit,

First, What this *Admonition* is?

Secondly, What is the *Rejection* here intended? *Reject* him.

First then, *Titus*, unto whom this *Epistle* & these *directions* were written, (and in him to all that succeed him in the like work of the *Gospell* to the Worlds end) he was no *Minister* of the *Civill State*, armed with the *majestie* and *terrour* of a *materiall sword*, who might for *offences* against the *civill state*, inflict *punishments* upon the *bodies* of men. by *imprisonments*, *whippings*, *fines*, *banishment*, *death*. *Titus* was a *Minister* of the *Gospel* or *Glad tidings*, armed onely with the *Spirituall sword* of the *Word of God*, and such *Spirituall weapons* as (yet) through *God* were mighty to the casting down of *strong holds*, yea every *high thought* of the *highest head* and *heart* in the world, 2 Cor. 10.4.

What is the first & second admonition.

Therefore these first and second Admonitions were not *civill* or *corporall* punishments on mens *persons* or *purses*, which the *Courts* of Men may lawfully inflict upon *Malefactors*: but they were the *reprehensions*, *convictions*, *exhortations*, and *perswasions* of the Word of the *Eternall God*, charged home to the *Conscience*, in the name and presence of the *Lord Jesus*, in the middest of the *Church*. Which being despised and not hearkned to, in the last place followes *rejection*; which is not a *cutting off* by *heading*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. or an *expelling* of the *Country* and *Coasts*: neither which (no nor any lesser *civill punishment*) *Titus* nor the Church at *Crete* had any power to exercise. But it was that dreadfull cutting off from that visible *Head* and *Body*, *Christ Jesus* and his *Church*; that *purging* out of the *old leaven* from the *lumpe* of the *Saints*; the putting away of the *evill* and wicked person from the holy *Land* and *Commonwealth* of *Gods Israel*, 1 Cor. 5. where it is observable, that the same word used by *Moses* for putting a malefactor to *death* in typicall *Israel*, by *sword*, *stoning*, &c. Deut 13.5. is here used by *Paul* for the *spirituall killing* or *cutting off* by *Excommunication*, 1 Cor. 5.13. Put away that evill person, &c.

What the rejecting of the Heretick was.

Corporall killing in the Law, typing out Spirituall killing by Excommunication in the Gospell.

Now I desire the Answerer, and any, in the holy awe and feare of *God* to consider, That

From whom the *first* and *second Admonition* was to proceed, from them also was the *rejecting* or casting out to proceed, as before.

But not from the Civill *Magistrate* (to whom *Paul* writes not this *Epistle*, and who also is not bound once and twice to admonish, but may speedily punish, as he sees cause, the persons or purses of *Delinquents* against his *Civill* State:) but from *Titus* the *Minister* or *Angel* of the *Church*, and from the *Church* with him, were these *first* and *second Admonitions* to proceed; And

Therefore at last also this *Rejecting*, which can be no other but a *casting* out, or *excommunicating* of him from their Church-societie.

Indeed, this *rejecting* is no other then that *avoyding* which *Paul* writes of to the *Church* of *Christ* at *Rome*, Rom. 16.17. which avoyding (however wofully perverted by some to prove persecution) belonged to the *Governours* of *Christs Church* & *Kingdom* in *Rome*, and not to the *Romane Emperour* for him to rid and avoyd the *World* of them, by bloody and cruell *Persecution*.

CHAP. XVI.

Peace. THe third Conclusion is; In points of lesser moment, there ought to be a *Toleration*. The third Conclusiō discussed.

Which though I acknowledge to be the Truth of *God*, yet 3 things are very observable in the manner of laying it down; for *Sathan* useth excellent *arrowes* to bad *markes*, and sometimes beyond the *intent*, and hidden from the eye of the *Archer*. Sathans policie.

First (saith he) such a person is to be tolerated, till *God* may be pleased to reveale his Truth to him. The Answerer granteth a Toleration.

Truth. This is well observed by you; for indeed this is the very *ground* why the *Apostle* calls for meekenesse and gentlenesse toward *all* men, and toward such as oppose themselves, 2 *Tim.* 2. because there is a *peradventure* or *it may be*; It *may be* God may give them *Repentance*. That *God* that hath shewen *mercy* to one, may shew *mercy* to another: It may be that *eye-salve* that anointed *one mans* eye who was *blinde* and opposite, may anoint another as *blinde* and opposite: He that hath given *Repentance* to the *husband*, may give it to his *wife*, &c. Patience to be used toward the opposite.

Hence that *Soule* that is lively and sensible of *mercy* received to it selfe in former *blindnesse*, opposition and enmitie against God, cannot but be patient and gentle toward the *Jewes*, who yet deny the *Lord Je-*

The carriage of a Soule sensible of mercy, toward other sinners in their blindnesse and opposition.

sus to be come, and justifie their *Fore-fathers* in murthering of him: Toward the *Turkes*, who acknowledge *Christ* a *great Prophet*, yet affirme lesse than *Mahomet*. Yea to all the severall sorts of *Antichristians*, who set up many a *false Christ* in stead of him. And lastly to the *Pagans* and *wildest* sorts of the sons of men, who have not yet heard of the *Father*, nor the *Son*. And to all these sorts, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Antichristians*, *Pagans*, when they oppose the light presented to them; In sense of its own former opposition, and that *God* peradventure may at last give *repentance*: I adde, such a Soule will not onely be patient, but earnestly and constantly pray for all sorts of men, that out of them *Gods* elect may be called to the fellowship of *Christ Jesus*. And lastly, not only pray, but endeavour (to its utmost abilitie) their participation of the same *grace* and *mercy*.

That great *Rock* upon which so many gallant Ships miscarrie, viz. That such persons, false *Prophets*, *Heretickes*, *&c.* were to be put to death in *Israel*, I shall (with Gods assistance) remove: as also that fine silken covering of the *Image*, viz. that such persons ought to be put to *death* or *banished*, to prevent the *infecting* and *seducing* of others, I shall (with Gods assistance) in the following discourse pluck off.

The Answerer confounds the Churches in Philippi and Rome with the Cities Philippi and Rome.

Secondly, I observe from the Scriptures he quoteth for this *Toleration*, (*Phil.*3. & *Rom.*14) how closely, yet I hope unadvisedly, he makes the *Churches* of *Christ* at *Philippi* and *Rome*, all one with the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome*, in which the *Churches* were, and to whom onely *Paul* wrote. As If what these *Churches* in *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate amongst themselves, that the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate in their *citizens*: and what these *Churches* must not tolerate, that these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must not tolerate within the compasse of the City, State and Jurisdiction.

Truth. Upon that ground, by undeniable consequence, these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* were bound not to tolerate themselves, that is, the Cities and Citizens of *Philippi* and *Rome*, in their own Civill life and being, but must kill or expell themselves from their own Cities, as being Idolatrous *worshippers* of other gods then the true *God* in *Jesus Christ*.

Difference between the Church and the World.

But as the *Lilie* is amongst the *Thornes*, so is Christs *Love* among the *Daughters*: and as the *Apple-tree* among the *Trees* of the *Forrest*, so is her *Beloved* among the Sons: so great a difference is there between the *Church* in a Citie or Country, and the *Civill state*, *City* or Country in which it is.

No

No lesse then (as *David* in another case, *Psal.* 103. as far as the *Heavens* are from the *Earth*) are they that are truly *Christs* (that is, anointed truly with the Spirit of *Christ*) from many thousands who love not the *Lord Iesus Christ*, and yet are and must be permitted in the World or Civill State, although they have no right to enter into the gates of *Jerusalem* the *Church* of God.

The Church and Civill State confusedly made all one.

And this is the more carefully to bee minded, because when ever a *toleration* of others *Religion* and *Conscience* is pleaded for, such as are (I hope in truth) *zealous* for *God*, readily produce plenty of *Scriptures* written to the *Church*, both before and since *Christs* comming, all commanding and pressing the putting forth of the *uncleane*, the cutting off the *obstinate*, the purging out the *Leaven*, rejecting of *Heretickes*. As if because *briars*, *thornes*, and *thistles* may not be in the *Garden* of the *Church*, therefore they must all bee pluckt up out of the *Wildernesse*: whereas he that is a *Briar*, that is, a *Jew*, a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, an *Antichristian* to day, may be (when the Word of the *Lord* runs freely) a member of *Jesus Christ* to morrow cut out of the wilde *Olive*, and planted into the true.

Persecutors have forgotten the blessednesse promised to the mercifull, Math. 5.

Peace. Thirdly, from this *toleration* of persons but holding *lesser errours*, I observe the *unmercifulnesse* of such *doctrines* and *hearts*, as if they had forgotten the *Blessednesse*, *Blessed* are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy, *Matth.* 5. He that is sleightly and but a little hurt, shall be *suffered*, and meanes vouchsafed for his *cure*: But the deepe *wounded sinners*, and *leprous*, *ulcerous*, and those of *bloudy issues* twelve yeares together, and those which have been bowed down 38. years of their *life*, they must not be suffered untill peradventure God may give them *repentance*; but either it is not lawfull for a *godly Magistrate* to rule and governe such a people (as some have said) or else if they be under *government*, and reforme not to the *State Religion* after the first and second *admonition*, the *Civill Magistrate* is bound to persecute, &c.

Truth. Such persons have need, as *Paul* to the *Romanes*, Chap. 12. 1. to be besought by the mercy of God to put on *bowels* of *mercy* toward such as have neither wronged them in *body* or *goods*, and therefore justly should not be punished in their *goods* or persons.

CHAP. XVII.

Peace. I Shall now trouble you (deare Truth) but with one conclusion more, which is this: *viz.* That if a man hold forth errour with a boyste-

a *boysterous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of the civill Peace, he ought to be punished, &c.

Truth. To this I have spoken too, confessing that if any man commit ought of those things which *Paul* was accused of (*Act.* 25. 11.) he ought not to be spared, yea he ought not, as *Paul* saith, in such cases to refuse to dye.

What persons are guilty of breach of civil peace

But if the *matter* be of another *nature*, a spirituall and divine *nature*, I have written before in many cases, and might in many more, that the *Worship* which a State professeth may bee *contradicted* and *preached* against, and yet no breach of *Civill Peace*. And if a *breach* follow, it is not made by such *doctrines*, but by the boysterous and violent opposers of them.

The most peaceable wrongfully accused of peace-breaking.

Such persons onely breake the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* peace, who cry out for *prison* and *swords* against such who crosse their *judgement* or *practice* in *Religion*. For as *Josephs* mistris accused *Joseph* of *uncleannesse*, and calls out for civill violence against him, when *Joseph* was chaste, and her *selfe* guilty: So commonly the meeke and *peaceable* of the earth are traduced as *rebells*, *factions*, *peace-breakers*, although they deale not with the *State* or *State-matters*, but *matters* of *divine* and *spirituall* nature, when their *traducers* are the onely *unpeaceable*, and guilty of *breach* of *Civill Peace*.

Peace. We are now come to the second part of the *Answer*, which is a particular examination of such *grounds* as are brought against such *persecution*.

The first sort of grounds are from the *Scriptures*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The examination of what is meant by the Tares, and the command of the L. Jesus to let them alone.

FIrst, *Matth.* 13. 30, 38. because *Christ* commandeth to let alone the *Tares* to grow up together with the *Wheat*, untill the *Harvest*.

Unto which he answereth: That *Tares* are not *Bryars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *godly*, but indeed *carnall* (as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*,) or partly such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very near the truth (as *Tares* do to the *Wheat*) and so neer that *good* men may be taken with them, and so the persons in whom they grow cannot bee rooted out, but good *Wheat* will be rooted out with them. In such a case (saith he) *Christ* calleth for *punctuall toleration*, and not for *penall prosecution*, according to the third Conclusion.

Truth.

Truth. The *substance* of this *Answer* I conceive to be first *negative*, that by *Tares* are not meant persons of another *Religion* and *Worship*, that is (saith he) they are not *Briars* and *Thornes*.

The Answerers fallacious exposition that Tares signifie either Persons, Doctrines or Practices.

Secondly, *affirmative*, by *Tares* are meant either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*; *persons*, as *hypocrites*, like the *godly*: *doctrines* or *practices* corrupt, yet like the *truth*.

For answer hereunto I confesse that not onely those worthy *witnesses* (whose memories are sweet with all that feare God) *Calvin*, *Beza*, *&c.* but of later times many conjoyne with this worthy *Answerer*, to satisfie themselves and others with such an *Interpretation*.

The Answerer barely affirming a most strange interpretation.

But alas, how darke is the soule left that desires to walke with God in holy feare and trembling, when in such a waighty and mighty point as this is, that in matters of *conscience* concerneth the spilling of the *bloud of thousands*, and the *Civill Peace* of the *World* in the taking up *Armes* to suppresse all false *Religions*! when I say no *evidence* or *demonstration* of the *Spirit* is brought to prove such an *interpretation*, nor *Arguments* from the place it selfe or the Scriptures of truth to confirme it; but a bare Affirmation that these *Tares* must signifie *persons*, or *doctrines* and *practices*.

Sathans subtletie about the opening of Scripture.

I will not imagine any deceitfull purpose in the Answerers thoughts in the proposall of these three, *persons*, *doctrines*, or *practices*, yet dare I confidently avouch that the *Old Serpent* hath deceived their precious soules, and by *Tongue* and *Pen* would deceive the soules of others by such a *method* of dividing the word of *truth*. A threefold *Cord*, and so a threefold *Snare* is strong, and too like it is that one of the three, either *Persons*, *Doctrines*, or *Practices* may catch some feet.

CHAP. XIX.

Peace. THe place then being of such great importance as concerning the *truth of God*, the *bloud of thousands*, yea the bloud of *Saints*, and of the *Lord Jesus* in them, I shall request your more diligent search (by the Lords holy assistance) into this Scripture. I shall make it evident, that by these Tares in this Parable are meant *persons* in respect of their *Religion* and way of *Worship*, *open* and *visible professours*, as bad as *briars* and *thornes*; not onely suspected *Foxes*, but as bad as those *greedy Wolves* which *Paul* speakes of, *Acts* 20. who with perverse and evill *doctrines* labour spiritually to devoure the *flocke*, and to draw away Disciples after them, whose mouthes must be stopped, and yet no carnall

force or *weapon* to be used against them, but their *mischiefe* to bee resisted with those mighty *weapons* of the holy *Armoury* of the *Lord Jesus*, wherein there hangs a *thousand shields*, *Cant.* 4.

That the *Lord Iesus* intendeth not *doctrines* or *practices* by the *tares* in this Parable is cleare: for

First, the *Lord Iesus* expresly interpreteth the *good seed* to be *persons*, and those the children of the *Kingdome*; and the *tares* also to signifie *Men*, and those the *children* of the *Wicked one*, *ver.* 38.

Toleration in Rom. 14. considered.

Secondly, such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* are not to bee tolerated now as those *Iewish* observations (the *Lords* owne *Ordinances*) were for a while to be permitted, *Rom.* 14. Nor so long as till the Angels the *Reapers* come to reape the Harvest in the end of the *world*. For can we thinke that because the tender Consciences of the *Iewes* were to be tendred in their *differences* of *meats*, that therefore persons must now bee tolerated in the *Church* (for I speake not of the *Civill State*) and that to the worlds end, in superstitious forbearing and forbidding of *flesh* in *Popish Lents*, and *superstitious Fridayes*, &c. and that because they were to be tendred in their observation of *Iewish Holidayes*, that therefore untill the *Harvest* or *Worlds end*, persons must now be tolerated (I meane in the *Church*) in the observation of Popish *Christmas*, *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and other superstitious Popish *Festivals*?

Toleration of Jewish ceremonies for a time upon some grounds in the Jewish Church, proves not toleration of Popish and Anti christian Ceremonies in the Christian Church, although in the State.

I willingly acknowledge, that if the members of a *Church of Christ* shall upon some *delusion* of *Sathan kneele* at the *Lords Supper*, keep *Christmas*, or any other Popish *observation*, great tendernesse ought to bee used in winning his soule from the errour of his way: and yet I see not that persons so practising were fit to be received into the Churches of Christ now, as the *Iewes* weake in the Faith, (that is, in the *Liberties* of *Christ*) were to be received, *Rom.* 14. 1. And least of all (as before) that the *toleration* or *permission* of such ought to continue till *Doomes day*, or the end of the *world*, as this Parable urgeth the *Toleration*; Let them alone untill the *Harvest*.

CHAP. XX.

Tares proved not to signifie hypocrites

AGaine, *Hypocrites* were not intended by the *Lord Iesus* in this famous Parable.

First, the Originall word ζιζάνια, signifying all those *Weeds* which spring up with the *Corne*, as *Cockle*, *Darnell*, *Tares*, &c. seemes to imply such a kinde of people as commonly and generally are knowne to bee mani-

manifestly different from, and opposite to the true *worshippers* of *God*, here called the *children* of the *Kingdom*; as these *weeds*, *tares*, *cockle*, *darnell*, &c. are commonly and presently knowne by every *husbandman* to differ from the *wheat*, and to be opposite, and contrary, and hurtfull unto it.

Hence were the witnesses of Christ *Wicklif* and others in *H.* 4. his reigne called Lollards (as some say) from *Lolia*, weeds known well enough, hence taken for signe of barrenesse *Infelix Lolium & sterilis dominatur avena:* others conceive they were so called from one *Lollard*, &c. but all Papists accounted them as Tares because of their profession.

Now whereas it is pleaded that these *tares* are like the *wheat*, and so like that this *consimilitude* or likenesse is made the ground of this *interpretation*, viz. That *tares* must needs signifie *hypocrites*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, who are like *Gods children*, *Truth*, &c.

I answer, first, The *Parable* holds forth no such thing, that the likenesse of the *tares* should deceive the servants to cause them to suppose for a time that they were good *wheat*, but that as soone as ever the *tares* appeared, ver. 26. the *servants* came to the *housholder* about them, ver. 27. the Scripture holds forth no such time wherein they doubted or suspected what they were.

Peace. It may be said they did not appeare to be *tares* untill the *corne* was in the blade, and put forth its fruit.

Truth. I answer, * The one appeared as soone as the other, for so the word clearly carries it, that the *seed* of both having been sowne, when the *wheat* appeared and put forth its blade and fruit, the *tares* also were as early, and put forth themselves as appeared also.

* The false and counterfeit Christians appeare as soon as the true and faithfull.

Secondly, there is such a *dissimilitude* or *unlikenesse*, I say such a *dissimilitude*, that as soone as *tares* and *wheat* are sprung up to blade and fruit, every *husbandman* can tell which is *wheat*, and which are *tares* and *cockle*, &c.

Peace. It may be said true: So when the *hypocrite* is manifested, then all may know him, &c. but before *hypocrites* be manifested by *fruits* they are unknowne.

I answer, search into the *Parable*, and aske when was it that the *servants* first complained of the *tares* to the *housholder*, but when they appeared or came in sight, there being no *interim*, wherein the servants could not tell what to make of them, but doubted whether they were *wheat* or *tares*, as the Answerer implies.

Secondly, when was it that the *housholder* gave charge to let them alone, but after that they appeared, and were known to be *tares*, which should imply by this *interpretation* of the *Answerer*, that when men are discovered and knowne to be *Hypocrites*, yet still such a *generation* of *Hypocrites* in the *Church* must be let alone and tolerated untill the *harvest* or end of the world, which is contrary to all *order*, *piety* and *safety* in the *Church* of the *Lord Jesus*, as doubtlesse the *Answerers* will grant;

Hypocriticall Christians.

so that these Tares being notoriously knowne to be different from the Corne, I conclude that they cannot here be intended by the *Lord Jesus* to signifie secret *Hypocrites*, but more open and apparent Sinners.

The Tares cannot signifie Hypocrites.

CHAP. XXI.

THe second reason why these *tares* cannot signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*, I take from the *Lord Jesus* His own *Interpretation* of the *field* (in which both *wheat* and *tares* are sowne, which saith he is the *World*, out of which God chooseth and calleth His *Church*.

Two sorts of Hypocrites: 1. In the Church as *Iudas*, *Simon Magus*, and these must be tolerated untill discovered, and no longer. 2. Hypocrites in the world which are false Christians, false Churches, & these the Lord Iesus will have let alone unto Harvest.

The *World* lyes in *wickednesse*, is like a *Wildernesse* or a *Sea* of *wilde Beasts* innumerable, *fornicators*, *covetous*, *Idolaters*, &c. with whom *Gods people* may lawfully converse and cohabit in *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. else must they not live in the *World*, but goe out of it, In which *world* as soone as ever the *Lord Jesus* had sowne the *good seed*, the *children* of the *Kingdome*, true *Christianity*, or the true *Church*; the *Enemy Sathan* presently in the *night* of *security*, *Ignorance* and *Errour* (whilest men slept) sowed also these *tares* which are *Antichristians* or *false Christians*. These *strange Professours* of the Name of *Jesus*, the *Ministers* and *Prophets* of *God*, beholding they are ready to runne to *Heaven* to fetch *fiery judgements* from thence to consume these strange *Christians*, and to pluck them by the *roots* out of the world: But the Son of Man, the *meek Lamb* of *God* (for the *Elects* sake which must be gathered out of *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Pagan*, *Antichristian*) commands a permission of them in the *World*, untill the time of the end of the *World*, when the *Goats* and *Sheep*, the *Tares* and *Wheat* shall be eternally separated each from other.

The Field by most, generally, but falsely interpreted the Church.

Peace. You know some excellent *Worthies* (dead and living) have laboured to turne this *Field* of the *World* into the *Garden* of the *Church*.

The Lord Iesus the great teacher by Parables, and the only expounder of them.

Truth. But who can imagine that the *Wisdome* of the *Father*, the *Lord Jesus Christ*, would so open this *Parable* (as He professedly doth) as that it should be close shut up, and that one *difficulty* or *locke* should be opened by a greater and harder, in calling the *World* the *Church*? contrary also to the way of the Light and Love that is in Jesus, when he would purposely teach and instruct His scholars contrary to the nature of *Parables* and *similitudes*.

And lastly, to the nature of the *Church* or *Garden* of *Christ*.

CHAP. XXII.

The scope of the Parable.

IN the former *Parable* the *Lord Jesus* compared the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* to the sowing of *Seed*. The true *Messengers* of *Christ* are the *Sowers*,

Sowers, who caſt the *Seed* of the *Word* of the *Kingdome* upon foure *ſorts* of ground, which foure *ſorts* of *ground* or *hearts* of men, cannot be ſuppoſed to be of the *Church*, nor will it ever be proved that the *Church* conſiſteth of any more ſorts or natures of ground properly, but *one*, to wit, the *honeſt* and *good* ground, and the proper worke of the *Church* concernes the flouriſhing and proſperity of this ſort of ground, and not the other *unconverted* three ſorts, who it may be ſeldome or never come neare the *Church* unleſſe they be forced by the *Civill ſword*, which the *paterne* or firſt *ſowers* never uſed, and being forced they are put into a way of *Religion* by ſuch a courſe, if not ſo, they are forced to live without a *Religion*, for one of the two muſt neceſſarily follow, as I ſhall prove afterward.

Foure ſorts of ground or hearers of the word in the world and but one properly in the Church, the reſt ſeldome come or accidentally to hear the word in the Church, which word ought to be fitted for the feeding of the Church or flocke: preaching for converſion is properly out of the Church.

In the *field* of the *World* then are all thoſe *ſorts* of *ground*, *high way hearers*, *ſtony* and *thorny* ground hearers, as well as the *honeſt* and good ground; and I ſuppoſe it will not now be ſaid by the Anſwerer, that thoſe three ſorts of *bad* grounds were *hypocrites* or *tares* in the *Church*.

Now after the *Lord Jeſus* had propounded that great *leading Parable* of the *Sower* and the *Seed*, He is pleaſed to propound this *Parable* of the *Tares*, with admirable *coherence* and ſweet *conſolation* to the honeſt and good ground, who with glad and honeſt hearts having received the *word* of the *Kingdome*, may yet ſeem to be diſcouraged and troubled with ſo many *Antichriſtians* and falſe *Profeſſours* of the *Name* of *Chriſt*. The *Lord Jeſus* therefore gives *direction* concerning theſe *tares*, that unto the end of the World ſucceſſively in all the *ſorts* and *generations* of them they muſt be (not approved or countenanced, but) let alone or *permitted* in the *World*.

The ſcope of the Parable of the Tares.

Secondly, he gives to His owne *good ſeed* this *conſolation*, that thoſe heavenly *Reapers* the *Angells* in the *harveſt* or end of the *World*, will take an order and courſe with them, to wit, they ſhall binde them into *bundles*, and caſt them into the *everlaſting burnings*, and to make the cup of their *conſolation* run over: He addes verſ. 4. Then, then at that time ſhall the *Righteous* ſhine as the *Sun* in the *Kingdome* of their *Father*.

The Lord Jeſus in this Parable of the Tares gives direction and conſolation to His ſervants.

Theſe *tares* then neither being erronious *doctrines*, nor corrupt *practiſes*, nor *hypocrites* in the true *Church* intended by the Lord Jeſus in this Parable; I ſhall in the third place by the helpe of the ſame Lord Jeſus) evidently prove that theſe *tares* can be no other ſort of ſinners, but falſe *worſhippers*, *Idolaters*, and in particular properly, *Antichriſtians*.

The Tares proved properly to ſignifie Antichriſtians.

CHAP. XXIII.

FIrſt then, theſe Tares are ſuch ſinners as are oppoſite and contrary to the *children* of the *Kingdome* viſibly ſo declared and manifeſt, ver. 38. Now the Kingdome of *God* below, is the *viſible Church* of Chriſt Jeſus, according to *Matth.* 8.12. The children of the *Kingdome* which are threatned to be caſt out, ſeeme to be the *Jewes*, which were then the onely *viſible Church* in Covenant with the Lord, when all other *Nations* followed other *gods* and *worſhips*. And more plaine is that fearefull *threatning*, Matth. 21.43. The *Kingdome* of *God* ſhall be taken from you, and given to a *Nation* that will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Matth. 8.12 Mat. 21.43 Gods kingdome on Earth the viſible Church.

Such then are the *good ſeed, good wheat, children of the Kingdome*, as are the *diſciples, members* and *ſubjects* of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* his *Church & Kingdom*: and therefore conſequently ſuch are the *tares*, as are oppoſite to theſe, *Idolaters, Will-worſhippers*, not truly but falſly ſubmitting to *Jeſus*: and in eſpeciall, the children of the *wicked* one, viſibly ſo appearing. Which wicked one I take not to be the *Devill*; for the Lord *Jeſus* ſeemes to make them diſtinct: He that ſowes the good ſeed (ſaith he) is the *Son* of *man*, the *field* is the *world*, the good ſeed are the *Children* of the *Kingdome*, but the *Tares* are the *children* of the *wicked*, or wickedneſſe, the *enemy* that ſowed them, is the *Devill*.

The difference between the Wheat & the Tares, as alſo betweentheſe Tares and all other.

The Originall here, τῦ πονηρῦ, agrees with that, *Luk.* 11.4. Deliver us ἀπὸ τῦ πονηρῦ, from evill or *wickedneſſe*; oppoſite to the children of the *Kingdome* and the *righteouſneſſe* thereof.

CHAP. XXIV.

Peace. IT is true, that all *drunkards, thieves, uncleane perſons, &c.* are oppoſite to *Gods children.*

Truth. Anſw. Their oppoſition here againſt the *children* of the *Kingdome*, is ſuch an oppoſition as properly fights againſt the *Religious ſtate* or Worſhip of the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*.

Secondly, it is manifeſt, that the Lord Jeſus in this parable intends no other ſort of ſinners, unto whom he ſaith, Let them alone, in *Church* or *State*; for then he ſhould contradict other holy and bleſſed *ordinances* for the puniſhment of offenders both in *Chriſtian* and *Civill State*.

Firſt, in *Civill ſtate*, from the beginning of the world, God hath armed

med *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Magistrates*, to punish evill doers, that is, such of whose actions *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Magistrates* are to judge, and accordingly to punish such sinners as transgresse against the good and peace of their Civill state, *Families*, *Townes*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*: their *States*, *Governments*, *Governours*, *Lawes*, *Punishments* and *Weapons* being all of a *Civill nature*; and therefore neither *disobedience* to *parents* or *magistrates*, nor *murther* nor *quarrelling*, *uncleannesse* nor *lasciviousnesse*, *stealing* nor *extortion*, neither ought of that kinde ought to be let alone, either in lesser or greater *families*, *townes*, *cities*, *kingdomes*, Rom. 13. but seasonably to be suppresst, as may best conduce to the *publike* *safetie*.

Civill Magistracie from the beginning of the World.

Offenders against the Civill lawes not to be perpetually tolerated.

Againe secondly, in the *Kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, whose *kingdome*, *officers*, *lawes*, *punishments*, *weapons*, are spirituall and of a Soule-nature, he will not have *Antichristian idolaters*, *extortioners*, *covetous*, *&c.* to be let alone, but the *uncleane* and *lepers* to be thrust forth, the old *leaven* purged out, the *obstinate* in sinne spiritually *stoned* to *death*, and put away from Israel; and this by many degrees of gentle *admonition* in *private* and *publique*, as the case requires.

Nor offenders in the Church of Christ Jesus to be suffred.

Therefore if neither *offenders* against the *civill Lawes*, *State* and *peace* ought to be let alone; nor the *Spirituall estate*, the *Church* of *Iesus Christ* ought to beare with them that are *evill*, Revel. 2. I conclude, that these are sinners of another nature, *Idolaters*, *False-worshippers*, *Antichristians*, who without discouragement to true Christians must be let alone and permitted in the world to grow and fill up the measure of their sinnes, after the *image* of him that hath sowen them, untill the great Harvest shall make the *difference*.

CHAP. XXV.

THirdly, in that the *officers* unto whom these *Tares* are referred, are the *Angels* the heavenly *Reapers* at the last day, it is cleare as the *light*, that (as before) these *Tares* cannot signifie *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered and seen to be *Tares* opposite to the good fruit of the good seed, are not to be let alone to the *Angels* at Harvest or end of the world, but purged out by the *Governors* of the *Church*, and the whole *Church* of *Christ*. Againe, they cannot be offenders against the *civill state* and Common welfare, whose dealing with is not suspended unto the comming of the *Angels*, but unto Men, who

The great Reapers are the Angels.

who (although they know not the Lord *Jesus Christ*, yet) are lawfull *Governours* and *Rulers* in *Civill things*.

Accordingly in the 4. and last place, in that the plucking up of these *tares* out of this *field* must bee let alone unto the very *harvest* or end of the *world*, it is apparent from thence, that (as before) they could not signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered to be so, (as these *tares* were discovered to be *tares*) are not to be suffered (after the first and second Admonition) but to be rejected, and every Brother that walketh disorderly to be withdrawen or separated from: So likewise no offendour against the *Civill state*, by *robbery*, *murther*, *adultery*, *oppression*, *sedition*, *mutinie*, is for ever to be connived at, and to enjoy a perpetuall *toleration* unto the *Worlds end*, as these *tares* must.

The Tares to be tolerated the longest of any sinners.

Moses for a while held his peace against the *sedition* of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. *David* for a season tolerated *Shimei*, *Joab*, *Adonijah*; but till the *Harvest* or end of the World, the *Lord* never intended that any but these *spirituall* and *mysticall Tares* should be so permitted.

CHAP. XXVI.

The danger of infection by these tares assoyled.

NOw if any imagine that the time or date is long, that in the meane season they may doe a *world of mischiefe* before the *Worlds end*, as by infection, &c.

Truth. First, I answer, that as the *civill State* keepes it selfe with a *civill Guard*, in case these *Tares* shall attempt ought against the *peace* and *welfare* of it, let such *civill offences* be punished, and yet as *Tares* opposite to *Christs Kingdome*, let their *Worship* and *Consciences* be tolerated.

Lamentable experience hath proved this true of late in Europe, and lamentably true in the slaughter of some hundred thousands of the English.

Secondly, the *Church* or *spirituall State*, *City*, or *Kingdome* hath *lawes*, and *orders*, and *armories*, (whereon there hang a thousand *Bucklers*, *Cant.* 4.) *Weapons* and *Ammunition*, able to break down the strongest *Holds*, 1 *Cor.* 10. and so to defend it selfe against the very *Gates* of *Earth* or *Hell*.

Thirdly, the *Lord* himself knows who are his, & his *foundation* remaineth sure, his *Elect* or chosen cannot perish nor be finally deceived.

Lastly, the *Lord Iesus* here in this Parable layes downe two *Reasons*, able to content and satisfie our *hearts*, to beare patiently this their *contradiction* and *Antichristianity*, and to permit or let them alone.

First, lest the good Wheat bee pluckt up and rooted up also out of this *Field* of the *World*, if such *combustions* and *fightings* were, as to pluck up all the false professours of the name of *Christ*, the *good wheat* also would

would enjoy little peace, but be in danger to bee pluckt up and torne out of this world by such bloody *stormes and tempests.*

And therefore as *Gods people* are commanded, *Ier.*29. to pray for the peace of *materiall Babell*, wherein they were captivated, and 1 *Tim.*2. to pray for all men, and specially *Kings and Governors*, that in the peace of the *civill State* they may have peace. So contrary to the opinion and practice of most (drunke with the Cup of the *Whores fornication*) yea, and of *Gods* owne people fast asleepe in *Antichristian Dalilahs* laps, *obedience* to the command of *Christ* to let the *tares* alone, will prove the onely meanes to preserve them Civill Peace, and that without obedience to this command of Christ, it is impossible (without great transgression against the *Lord* in carnall policy, which will not long hold out) to preserve the *civill* peace.

Beside, Gods people the good Wheat are generally pluckt up and persecuted, as well as the vilest idolaters, whether Jewes or Antichristians, which the Lord Jesus seemes in this *Parable* to foretell.

The second *Reason* noted in the *Parable* which may satisfie any man from wondring at the *patience* of *God*, is this: when the *world* is ripe in sinne, in the sinnes of *Antichristianisme* (as the Lord spake of the sinnes of the *Amorites*, *Gen.*12.) then those holy and mighty *Officers* and *Executioners*, the *Angels*, with their sharpe and cutting *sickles* of eternall vengeance, shall downe with them, and bundle them up for the *everlasting burnings.* The great & dreadfull Harvest.

Then shall that Man of Sin, 2 *Thess.*2. be consumed by the breath of the mouth of the *Lord Iesus*, and all that *worship* the *Beast* and his picture, and receive his *mark* into their *forehead* or their *hands*, shall drink of the Wine of the *wrath of God* which is poured out without mixture into the Cup of his *indignation*, and he shall be tormented with *fire and brimstone* in the presence of the holy *Angels*, and in the presence of the *Lambe*, and the smoake of their *torment* shall ascend up for ever and ever, *Rev.*14.10.11.

CHAP. XXVII.

Peace. YOu have beene larger in vindicating this Scripture from the violence offered unto it, because as I said before, it is of such great consequence, as also because so many excellent *learned* have not *rightly devided* it, to the great misguiding of many *precious soules*, which

otherwise might have beene turned into the paths of more *peaceable-nesse* in *themselves* and towards *others*.

The charge of Christ Jesus, Let alone the Tares, was not spoken to Magistrates, Ministers of the civill state, but to Ministers of the Gospel.

Truth. I shall be briefer in the *Scriptures* following. *Peace.* Yet before you depart from this, I must crave your patience to satisfie one *Objection*, and that is; These servants to whom the *Householder* answereth, seem to be the *Ministers* or *Messengers* of the *Gospel*, not the *Magistrates* of the *civill State*, and therfore this charge of the Lord Jesus is not given to *Magistrates* to let alone *false worshippers* and *idolaters*.

Againe, being spoken by the *Lord Iesus* to his *Messengers*, it seemes to concern *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, as before was spoken, and not *false worshippers* in the *State* or *World*.

Truth. I answer, first, I beleeve I have sufficiently and abundantly proved, that these *tares* are not *offenders* in the *civill State*. Nor secondly, *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, when once discovered so to bee, and that therefore the *Lord Iesus* intends a grosser kinde of *Hypocrites*, professing the name of *Churches* and *Christians* in the field of the *World* or *Commonwealth*.

The civill Magistrate not so particularly spoken to as Fathers and Masters in the New Testament, and why. Eph. 5.6. Col. 3.4. &c.

Secondly, I acknowledge this command [Let them alone] was expresly spoken to the *Messengers* or *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, who have no *civill power* or *authority* in their hand, and therefore not to the *civill Magistrate*, *King*, or *Governour*, to whom it pleased not the *Lord Iesus* by *himselfe* or by his *Apostles* to give particular *Rules* or *directions* concerning their *behaviour* and carriage in Civill *Magistracy*, as they have done expresly concerning the duty of *fathers*, *mothers*, *children*, *masters*, *servants*, yea and of *Subjects* towards *Magistrates*, *Ephes.* 5. & 6. *Coles.* 3. & 4. &c.

A twofold state of Christianity, the persecuted under the Roman Emperors, and the Apostate ever since.

I conceive not the reason of this to be (as some weakly have done) because the Lord Jesus would not have any *followers* of his to hold the place of *civill Magistracy*, but rather that he foresaw, and the *Holy Spirit* in the *Apostles* foresaw how few *Magistrates*, either in the first persecuted, or apostated state of Christianity would imbrace his yoake: in the persecuted state, Magistrates hated the very name of Christ or Christianity: In the state apostate some few Magistrates (in their persons holy and precious, yet) as concerning their places, as they have professed to have beene Governours or Heads of the Church, have beene so many false Heads, and have constituted so many false visible Christs.

Thirdly, I conceive this charge of the Lord Jesus to his *Messengers* the *Preachers* and *Proclaimers* of his minde, is a sufficient declaration

of

of the minde of the *Lord Iesus*, if any *civill Magistrate* should make question what were his *duty* concerning *spirituall* things.

The *Apostles*, and in them all that succeed them, being commanded not to pluck up the *Tares*, but let them alone, received from the *Lord Iesus* a threefold charge.

Christs Messengers receive a threefold charge in that prohibition of Christ, Let them alone.

First, to let them alone, and not to plucke them up by prayer to *God* for their present temporall *destruction*.

Gods people not to pray for the present ruine and destruction of idolaters, although their persecutors, but for their peace and salvations.

Jeremie had a Commission to plant and build, to pluck up and destroy *Kingdomes*, *Ier.* 1. 10. therefore hee is commanded not to pray for that people whom God had a purpose to pluck up, *Jer.* 14 11. and he plucks up the whole *Nation* by *prayer*, *Lament.* 3. 66. Thus *Elijah* brought fire from *heaven* to consume the *Captaines* and the *fifties*, 2 *King.* 1. and the *Apostles* desired also so to practise against the *Samaritanes*, *Luc.* 9. 54. but were reproved by the *Lord Jesus*. For contrarily, the *Saints* and *Servants* and *Churches* of *Christ* are to pray for *all men*, especially for all *Magistrates* (of what sort or *Religion* soever) and to seeke the peace of the City (what ever City it be) because in the peace of the place Gods people have peace also, *Jer.* 29 7. 2 *Tim.* 2. &c.

The word of God rightly denounced plucks up kingdoms.

Secondly, *Gods Messengers* are herein commanded not to prophesie or denounce a *present destruction* or *extirpation* of all false *professours* of the name of *Christ*, which are *whole Townes*, *Cities*, and *Kingdomes* full.

Jeremy did thus pluck up *Kingdomes* in those fearfull Prophecies hee poured forth against all the *Nations* of the *World*, throughout his Chap. 24. 25. 26. &c. as did also the other Prophets in a measure, though none comparably to *Ieremy* and *Ezekiel*.

Such *denunciations* of present temporall *judgements* are not the *Messengers* of the *Lord Iesus* to poure forth. Tis true, many sore and fearfull *plagues* are poured forth upon the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Popes* in the *Revelation*, yet not to their utter *extirpation* or *plucking* up untill the *Harvest*.

Gods Ministers are not to provoke Magistrates to persecute Antichristians.

Thirdly, I conceive Gods *Messengers* are charged to let them alone and not pluck them up, by exciting and stirring up Civill Magistrates, Kings, Emperours, Governours, Parliaments, or Generall Courts or Assemblies, to punish and persecute all such persons out of their Dominions and Territories, as worship not the true God according to the revealed will of *God* in *Christ Iesus*. Tis true *Elijah* thus stirred up *Ahab* to kill all the Priests and Prophets of *Baal*, but that was in that *figurative* state of the Land of Canaan (as I have already and shall further

manifeſt) not to be matcht or paralleld by any other *State*, but the *ſpirituall State* or *Church* of Chriſt in all the world, putting the falſe *Prophets* and *Idolaters* ſpiritually to death by the two-edged ſword and power of the *Lord Ieſus*, as that *Church of Iſrael* did corporally.

1 Pet. 2. 9. 1 Cor. 5.

Companying with idolaters, 1 Cor. 5 diſcuſſed.

And therefore ſaith *Paul* expreſly, 1 *Cor.* 5. 10. we muſt goe out of the world, in caſe we may not company in civill converſe with Idolaters &c.

Peace. It may be ſaid, ſome ſorts of ſinners are there mentioned, as Drunkards, Raylers, Extortioners, who are to bee puniſhed by the Civill Sword, why not Idolaters alſo? for although the Subject may lawfully converſe, buy and ſell, and live with ſuch, yet the *Civill Magiſtrate* ſhall nevertheleſſe be juſtly blamed in ſuffering of them.

Lawfull converſe with idolaters in civill, but not in ſpirituall things.

Truth. I anſwer, the Apoſtle in this Scripture ſpeakes not of permiſſion of either, but expreſly ſhowes the difference betweene the *Church* and the *World*, and the lawfulneſſe of converſation with ſuch perſons in *civill things*, with whom it is not lawfull to have converſe in *ſpirituals*: ſecretly withall foretelling, that Magiſtrates and People, whole States and Kingdomes ſhould bee Idolatrous and Antichriſtian, yet with whom notwithſtanding the Saints and Churches of God might lawfully cohabit, and hold *civill converſe and converſation*..

Concerning their permiſſion of what they judge Idolatrous, I have and ſhall ſpeake at large.

Dangerous and ungrounded zeale.

Peace. Oh how contrary unto this command of the *Lord Ieſus* have ſuch as have conceived themſelves the true Meſſengers of the *Lord Ieſus*, in all ages, not let ſuch Profeſſours and Prophets alone, whom they have judged *Tares*, but have provoked Kings and Kingdomes (and ſome out of good intentions and zeale to God) to proſecute and perſecute ſuch even unto death? Amongſt whom Gods people (the *good wheat*) hath alſo beene pluckt up, as all Ages and Hiſtories teſtifie, and too too oft the World laid upon bloody heapes in *civill* and *inteſtine deſolations* on this occaſion. All which would bee prevented, and the greateſt breaches made up in the peace of our owne or other Countries, were this command of the Lord Jeſus obeyed, to wit, to let them alone untill the Harveſt.

CHAP. XXVIII.

I Shall conclude this controverſie about this *Parable* in this briefe *ſum* and *recapitulation* of what hath beene ſaid. I hope by the evident demonſtration

monſtration of Gods Spirit to the conſcience I have proved, Negatively,

Firſt, that the *Tares* in this *Parable* cannot ſignifie *Doctrines* or *Practices* (as was affirmed) but *Perſons*.

Secondly, the *Tares* cannot ſignifie Hypocrites in the Church either undiſcovered or diſcovered.

Thirdly, the *Tares* here cannot ſignifie *Scandalous Offenders* in the Church.

Fourthly, nor ſcandalous offenders in *life* and *converſation* againſt the *Civill ſtate*.

Fifthly, The field in which theſe *Tares* are ſowne, is not the *Church*.

Againe affirmatively: Firſt, the *Field* is properly the *World*, the *Civill State* or *Common-wealth*.

Secondly, The *Tares* here intended by the Lord *Ieſus*, are *Antichriſtian idolaters*, oppoſite to the good ſeed of the *Kingdome*, true *Chriſtians*.

Thirdly, the *miniſters* or *meſſengers* of the *Lord Ieſus* ought to let them alone to live in the world, and neither ſeeke by *prayer* or *propheſie* to pluck them up before the *Harveſt*.

Fourthly, this permiſſion or ſuffering of them in the field of the *World*, is not for hurt, but for common good, even for the good of the good Wheat, the people of *God*.

Laſtly, the *patience* of *God* is, and the *patience* of *Men* ought to be exerciſed toward them, and yet notwithſtanding their *doome* is fearfull at the *harveſt*, even *gathering*, *bundling*, and *everlaſting burnings* by the mighty hand of the *Angels* in the end of the World.

CHAP. XXIX.

Peace. THe ſecond Scripture brought againſt ſuch perſecution for cauſe of *Conſcience*, is *Matth.* 15. 14. where the *Diſciples* being troubled at the *Phariſes* cariage toward the *Lord Ieſus* and his *doctrines*, and relating how they were offended at him, the Lord *Ieſus* commandeth his *Diſciples* to let them alone, and gives this reaſon, that the *blinde* lead the *blinde*, and both ſhould fall into the *ditch*.

Matth. 15. 14. the ſecond Scripture controverted in this cauſe.

Unto which, Anſwer is made, "That it makes nothing to "the Cauſe, becauſe it was ſpoken to his private *Diſciples*, and "not to publique Officers in *Church* or *State*: and alſo, becauſe

"becauſe it was ſpoken in regard of not troubling themſelves, or re-
"garding the offence which the *Phariſes* tooke.

Truth. I anſwer, (to paſſe by his *aſſertion* of the *privacie* of the *Apoſtles*) in that the Lord *Jeſus* commanding to let them alone, that is, not onely not be offended themſelves, but not to meddle with them; it appeares it was no *ordinance* of *God* nor *Chriſt* for the *Diſciples* to have gone further, and have complained to, and excited the Civill *Magiſtrate* to his duty: which if it had been an Ordinance of *God* and *Chriſt*, either for the vindicating of Chriſts *doctrine*, or the *recovering* of the *Phariſes*, or the *preſerving* of others from *infection*, the Lord Ieſus would never have commanded them to omit that which ſhould have tended to theſe holy ends.

Chriſt Jeſus never directed his Diſciples to the civill Magiſtrate for help in his cauſe.

CHAP. XXX.

Peace. IT may be ſaid, that neither the *Romane Ceſar*, nor *Herod*, nor *Pilate* knew ought of the true *God*, or of *Chriſt*; and it had been in vaine to have made complaint to them who were not fit and *competent*, but *ignorant* and *oppoſite* Iudges.

Truth. I anſwer firſt, this removes (by the way) that *ſtumbling block* which many fall at, to wit, *Pauls* appealing to *Ceſar*; which ſince he could not in common ſenſe doe unto *Ceſar* as a competent *Iudge* in ſuch caſes, and wherein he ſhould have alſo denied his own Apoſtleſhip or office, in which regard (to wit in matters of Chriſt) he was higher then *Ceſar* himſelfe: it muſt needs follow, that his *appeale* was meerly in reſpect of his *Civill wrongs*, and falſe accuſations of *ſedition*, *&c.*

Pauls appealing to *Ceſar*. Civill Magiſtrates never appointed by God, Defenders of the Faith of Jeſus.

Secondly, if it had been an Ordinance of *God*, that all *Civill Magiſtrates* were bound to judge in cauſes *ſpirituall* or *Chriſtian*, as to ſuppreſſe *hereſies*, defend the *faith* of *Ieſus*; although that *Ceſar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* were wicked, ignorant and oppoſite, yet the *Diſciples* and the *Lord Chriſt* himſelfe had been bound to have performed the duty of faithfull Subjects, for the preventing of further evill, and the clearing of themſelves, and ſo to have left the matter upon the *Magiſtrates* care and conſcience, by complaining unto the Magiſtrate againſt ſuch evils; for every perſon is bound to goe ſo far as lies in his power for the preventing and the redreſſing of evill; and where it ſtops in any, and runs nor cleere, there the guilt, like filth or mud, will lie.

Every one is bound to put forth himſelfe to his utmoſt power in Gods buſineſſe; & where it ſtops, the guilt will lie.

Thirdly, had it been the holy purpoſe of *God* to have eſtabliſhed the

doctrine

doctrine and *kingdome* of his *Son* this way, since his comming, he would have furnished *Common-weales*, *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, &c. then and since, with such temporall *Powers* and *Magistrates* as should have been excellently fit and competent: for he that could have had legions of Angels, if he so pleased, could as easily have been, and still be furnished with legions of good and gracious Magistrates to this end and purpose.

Christ could have easily been furnished with godly Magistrates, if he had so appointed.

CHAP. XXXI.

IT is generally said, that God hath in former times, and doth still, and will hereafter stirre up Kings and Queenes, &c.

I answer, that place of *Isa.* 49. 23. will appeare to be far from proving such Kings and Queenes Iudges of Ecclesiasticall causes: and if not Iudges, they may not punish.

In Spirituall things, themselves are subject to the Church, and censures of it, although in Civill respects superior. How shall those Kings and Queenes be supreme Governours of the Church, and yet lick the dust of the Churches feet? as it is there expresst.

Gods Israel earneſt with God for an Arme of Fleſh, which God gives in his anger, and takes away in his wrath.

Thirdly, Gods Israel of old were earnest with God for a King, for an Arme of Flesh, for a King to protect them, as other Nations had. Gods Israel still have ever been restlesse with God for an Arme of flesh.

God gave them *Saul* in his anger, and took him away in his wrath: And God hath given many a *Saul* in his Anger, that is, an Arm of Flesh in the way of his Providence, (though I judge not all persons whom *Saul* in his Calling typed out, to be of *Sauls* spirit) for I speake of a State and outward visible Power only.

I adde, God will take away such stayes on whom Gods people rest, in his wrath, that King *David*, that is, *Christ Iesus* the *Antitype*, in his own *Spirituall* power in the hands of the Saints, may spiritually and for ever be advanced.

The punishment of blind Pharises, though let alone, yet is greater then any corporall punishment in the world, in 4 respects.

And therefore I conclude, it was in one respect that the *Lord Iesus* said, Let them alone, because it was no Ordinance for any *Disciple* of *Iesus* to prosecute the *Pharises* at *Cæsars* Bar.

Beside, let it be seriously considered by such as plead for present *corporall punishment*, as conceiving that such sinners (though they breake not Civill peace) should not escape unpunished, I say, let it be considered, though for the present their punishment is deferred, yet the *punishment* inflicted on them will be found to amount to an higher pitch then

then any *corporall punishment* in the *World* beside, and that in these foure respects.

CHAP. XXXII.

The eye of the soul stru k out is worse then for both right and left eye of the body to be ſtrucke out teune thousand times.

FIrſt by just judgement from God *falſe teachers* are ſtarke *blinde*, Gods *ſword* hath ſtrucke out the right *eye* of their *minde* and *ſpirituall underſtanding*, ten thouſand times a greater puniſhment then if the *Magiſtrate* ſhould command both the *right* and *left eye* of their *bodies* to bee bored or pluckt out, and that in ſo many fearfull reſpects if the blindeneſſe of the *ſoule* and of the *body* were a little compared together, whether we looke at that want of *guidance*, or the want of *joy* and *pleaſure*, which the light of the eye affordeth; or whether we looke at the *damage*, *ſhame*, *deformity* and *danger*, which *blindeneſſe* brings to the outward man, and much more true in the *want* of the former, and *miſeria* of the latter in ſpirituall and ſoule blindeneſſe to all *eternity*.

Some ſoules incurable, whom not only corporall but ſpirituall phyſicke can nothing availe.

Secondly, how fearfull is that wound that no *Balme* in *Gilead* can cure? How dreadfull is that blindeneſſe which for ever to all eye-ſalve is incurable? For if perſons be wilfully and deſperately obſtinate (after light ſhining forth) let them alone ſaith the *Lord*. So ſpake the *Lord* once of *Ephraim*, *Ephraim* is joyned to *Idolls*, let him alone, *Hoſ.* 7. what more lamentable condition then when the *Lord* hath given a poor ſinner over as a hopeleſſe *patient*, incurable, which we are wont to account a ſorer affliction, then if a man were torne and rack'd, &c.

And this I ſpeake not that I conceive that all whom the *Lord Jeſus* commands His ſervants to paſſe from, and let alone, to permit and tolerate (when it is in their power corporally to moleſt them) I ſay that all are thus incurable, yet that ſometimes that word is ſpoken by Chriſt Jeſus to His ſervants to be patient, for neither can corporall or ſpirituall Balme or Phyſicke ever heale or cure them.

The bottomleſſe pit or ditch into which the ſpiritually blind fall.

Thirdly, their end is the *Ditch*, that bottomleſſe pit of everlaſting *ſeparation* from the holy and ſweet Preſence of the *Father* of *Lights*, *Goodneſſe* and *Mercy* it ſelfe, *endleſſe*, *eaſeleſſe*, in *extremity*, *univerſality*, and *eternity* of *torments*, which moſt direfull and lamentable downefall, ſhould ſtrike an holy fear & trembling into all that ſee the *Pit*, whither theſe blinde Phariſees are tumbling, and cauſe us to ſtrive (ſo far as hope may be) by the ſpirituall eye-ſalve of the Word of *God* to heale and cure them of this their ſoule-deſtroying blindeneſſe.

Fourthly, of thoſe that fall into this dreadfull *Ditch*, both leader and followers, how deplorable in more eſpeciall manner is the *leaders* caſe,

upon

upon whose necke the *followers* tumble, the ruine not only of his owne soule, being horrible, but also the ruine of the followers soules eternally galling and tormenting.

Peace. Some will say these things are indeed full of horrour, yet such is the state of all sinners and of many Malefactours, whom yet the State is bound to punish, and sometimes by *death* it selfe.

Truth. I answer, The Civill Magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine, but to cut off *Civill offences*, yea and the offendours too in case: But what is this to a blinde *Pharisee*, resisting the *Doctrine* of *Christ*, who happily may be as good a subject, and as peaceable and profitable to the *Civill State* as any, and for his spirituall offence against the *Lord Jesus*, in denying Him to be the true *Christ*, he suffereth the vengeance of a *dreadfull judgement* both present and eternall, as before.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Soul killing the chiefest murder. No Magistrate can execute true justice in killing soule for soule, but Christ Jesus who by typeall death in the Law, typed out spirituall in the Gospel. A great mistake in most to conceive that dead men, that is, soules dead in sin may be infected by false doctrine.

Peace. YEa but it is said that the blinde *Pharisees* misguiding the subjects of a *Civill State*, greatly sinne against a *Civill State*, and therefore justly suffer *civill punishment*; for shall the *Civill Magistrate* take care of *outsides* only, to wit, of the bodies of men, and not of soules, in labouring to procure their everlasting welfare?

Truth. I answer, It is a *truth*, the mischiefe of a blinde *Pharisees* blinde *guidance* is greater then if he acted Treasons, Murders, &c. and the losse of one soule by his seduction is a greater mischiefe then if he blew up Parliaments, and cuts the throats of Kings or Emperours, so pretious is that invaluable Jewell of a Soul, above all the present lives and bodies of all the men in the world! and therefore a firme Justice calling for *eye* for *eye*, *tooth* for *tooth*, *life* for *life*; calls also *soule* for *soule*, which the blinde-guiding seducing *Pharisee* shall surely pay in that dreadfull Ditch, which the Lord Jesus speakes of, but this sentence against him the Lord Jesus only pronounceth in His *Church*, His *spirituall judicature*, and executes this *sentence* in part at present and hereafter to all eternity: Such a *sentence* no *Civill Judge* can passe, such a *Death* no *Civill sword* can inflict.

I answer secondly, *Dead men* cannot be infected, the *civill state*, the *world*, being in a naturall state dead in sin (what ever be the *State-Religion* unto which *persons* are forced) it is impossible it should be infected: Indeed the *living*, the *beleeving*, the *Church* and *spirituall state*, that and that onely is capable of *infection*; for whose helpe we shall presently

see what *preservatives*, and *remedies* the *Lord Jesus* hath appointed.

All naturall men being dead in sin, yet none die everlastingly but such as are thereunto ordained.

Moreover as we see in a *common plague* or *infection* the names are taken how many are to dye, and not one more shall be strucke, then the destroying *Angel* hath the names of. So here, what ever be the soule *infection* breathed out from they lying lips of a *plague-sicke Pharisee*, yet the names are taken, not one *elect* or chosen of *God* shall perish, *Gods sheep* are safe in His *eternall hand* and *counsell*, and he that knowes his *materiall*, knows also his *mystical starrs*, their *numbers*, and calls them every one by *name*, none fall into the *Ditch* on the blinde *Pharises* backe, but such as were *ordained* to that *condemnation*, both *guid* and *followers*, 1 *Pet.* 2.8. *Jude* 4. The *vessells* of *wrath* shall breake and split, and only they to the praise of *Gods* eternall *justice*, *Rom.*9.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Peace. BUt it is said, be it granted that in a *common plague* or *infection* none are smitten and dye but such as are appointed, yet it is not only every mans duty, but the common duty of the Magistrate to prevent *infection*, and to preserve the *common health* of the place; likewise though the number of the *Elect* be sure, and *God* knowes who are His, yet hath He appointed meanes for their *preservation* from *perdition*, and from *infection*, and therefore the *Angel* is blamed for suffering *Balaams* doctrine, and *Jesabel* to seduce Christ Jesus His servants, *Rev.*2. *Tit.*3.10. *Rom.*16.17.

The Lord Jesus hath not left his Church without spirituall antidotes and remedies against infection.

Truth. I answer, Let that Scripture and that of *Titus* reject an *Hereticke*, and *Rom.*16.17. avoid them that are *contentious*, &c. let them, and all of like nature be examined, and it will appeare that the great and good *Physitian Christ Jesus*, the *Head* of the *Body*, and *King* of the *Church* hath not been unfaithfull in providing spirituall *antidotes* and *preservatives* against the spirituall *sicknesses*, *sores*, *weaknesses*, *dangers* of his *Church* and people; but he never appointed the *civill sword* for either *antidote* or *remedy*, as an *addition* to those *spiritualls*, which he hath left with his *wife*, his *Church* or People.

The miserable bondage Gods people live in.

Hence how great is the *bondage*, the *captivity* of Gods owne People to *Babyloniſh* or *confused mixtures* in Worship, and unto worldly and earthly policies to uphold *State Religions* or *Worships*, since that which is written to the *Angel* and *Church* at *Pergamus*, shall be interpreted all sent to the Governour and City of *Pergamus*, and that which is sent to *Titus*, and the Church of Christ at *Crete* must be delivered to the civill officers and City thereof.

But

But as the *Civill Magistrate* hath his charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subjects*: So have the *spirituall Officers*, *Governours* and *overseers* of *Christs City* or *Kingdome*, the charge of their *soules*, and *soule safety*: Hence that charge of *Paul* to *Tim.* 1 *Tim.* 5.20. Them that sinne *rebuke* before all, that others may learne to *fear*. This is in the Church of Christ a spirituall meanes for the *healing* of a *soule* that hath sinned, or taken *infection*, and for the preventing of the infecting of others, that others may learne to feare, &c.

CHAP. XXXV.

Peace. IT is said true that *Titus* and *Timothy*, and so the Officers of the *Church* of *Christ* are bound to prevent *soule infection*: But what hinders that the Magistrate should not be charged also with this duty?

Truth. I answer, many things I have answered, and more shall; at present I shall only say this: If it be the *Magistrate* duty or office, then is he both a *Temporall* and *Ecclesiasticall* officer; contrary to which most men will affirme: and yet we know the policie of our owne Land and Country hath established to the *Kings* and *Queens* thereof, the supreme *heads* or *governours* of the *Church* of *England*.

The Kings and Queens of England Governours of the Church.

That *doctrine* and *distinction* that a *Magistrate* may punish an *Heretick* civilly will not here availe; for what is *Babel* if this be not confusedly to punish *corporall* or *civill offences* with *spirituall* or *Church censures* (the offendour not being a member of it) or to punish *soule* or *spirituall* offences with *corporall* or *temporall weapons* proper to *Delinquents* against the temporall or *civill state*.

Strange confusion in punishments.

Lastly, woe were it with the *civill Magistrate* (and most intolerable *burthens* do they lay upon their backs that teach this *doctrine*) if together with the common care and charge of the *Commonwealth* (the peace and safety of the *Towne*, *City*, *State* or *Kingdome*) the bloud of every soule that perisheth should cry against him, unlesse he could say with *Paul*, *Acts* 20. (in spirituall regards) I am clear from the *bloud* of all men, that is the bloud of *soules*, which was his charge to looke after, so far as his *preaching* went, not the bloud of *bodies* which belongeth to the *civill Magistrate*.

Woe were it with the civill Magistrate if he bloud of soules (beside the ordinary care of the bodies and goods of the subject) should cry against him.

I acknowledge he ought to cherish (as a foster-father) the *Lord Jesus* in his *truth*, in his *Saints*, to *cleave* unto them *himselfe*, and to

The Magistrates duties toward the Church the Spouse of Christ.

to *countenance* them even to the *death*, yea also to breake the teeth of the *Lions*, who offer Civill violence and injury unto them.

But, to see all his Subjects *Christians*, to keepe such *Church* or *Christians* in the purity of worship, and see them doe their *duty*, this belongs to the *Head* of the *Body Christ Jesus*, and such spirituall Officers as he hath to this purpose deputed, whose right it is according to the true paterne: *Abimelech*, *Saul*, *Adonijah*, *Athalia* were but usurpers: *David*, *Salomon*, *Joash*, &c. they were the true *heires* and *types* of *Christ Jesus* in His true *Power* and *Authority* in His Kingdome.

Usurpers and true heires of the spirituall Crowne of Jesus.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Peace. THe next Scripture brought against such persecution is *Luke* 9.54,55. where the Lord Jesus reproved His Disciples, who would have had fire come downe from Heaven, and devoure those *Samaritanes* that would not receive Him in these words: You know not of what *spirit* you are, the Son of Man is not come to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them.

Luke 9.54.55 discussed.

With this Scripture Mr. *Cotton* joynes the fourth, and answers both in one, which is this, 2 *Tim.* 2. 24. The servant of the *Lord* must not strive, but must be gentle toward all men, suffering the *evill men*, instructing them with *meekenesse* that are contrary minded and *oppose* themselves, proving if *God* peradventure will give them *repentance* that they may acknowledge the *truth*, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the *Divell* who are taken *captive* by him at his *will*.

Unto both these *Scriptures* it pleaseth him thus to answer: "Both these are *directions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* how to deale "(not with obstinate offendors in the *Church* who sin against *con-* "*science*, but) either with *men* without as the *Samaritanes* were, and "many unconverted *Christians* in *Creet*, whom *Titus* (as an Evan- "gelist) was to seek to convert:

"Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the Church, who "though carnall, yet were not convinced of the errour of their "way: And it is true it became not the Spirit of the *Gospel* to con- "vert Aliens to the *Faith* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by fire "and brimstone, nor to deale harshly in *publicke Ministery* or pri- "vate conference with all such severall minded men as either had

An excellent saying of persecutors themselves,

"not

" not yet entred into *Church fellowship*, or if they had did hitherto sin
" of *ignorance*, not against *Conscience*: But neither of both these Texts
" doe hinder the *Minister* of the *Gospel* to proceed in a *Church* way
" against *Church members*, when they become scandalous offenders
" either in *life* or *doctrine*, much lesse doe they speake at all to the
" *Civill Magistrate*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Truth. THis perplexed and ravelled *Answer*, wherein so many things and so doubtfull are wrapt up and intangled together, I shall take in pieces.

First, concerning that of the *Lord Jesus* rebuking his *Disciples* for their rash and ignorant bloudy *zeale* (*Luc.* 9.) desiring *corporall destruction* upon the *Samaritanes* for refusing the *Lord Jesus*, &c. the *Answerer* affirmeth, that hindreth not the *Ministers* of the *Gospell* to proceed in a *Church* way against scandalous offenders, which is not here questioned, but maintained to bee the holy will of the *Lord*, and a sufficient censure and punishment, if no civill offence against the *Civill State* be committed.

The Answerer when he should speake to toleration in the State, runnes to punishments in the Church, which none can deny.

Secondly (saith hee) " Much lesse doth this speake at all to the " Civill *Magistrate*.

Where I observe that he implyes that beside the *censure* of the *Lord Jesus*, in the hands of his *spirituall governours*, for any spirituall evill in *life* or *doctrine*, the *Civill Magistrate* is also to inflict *corporall punishment* upon the contrary minded: whereas

First, if the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, a *Disciple* or follower of the meeke *Lambe* of *God*, he is bound to be far from destroying the *bodies of men*, for refusing to receive the *Lord Jesus Christ*, for otherwise hee should not know (according to this speech of the *Lord Iesus*) what *spirit* he was of, yea and to be ignorant of the sweet end of the comming of the *Son of Man*, which was not to destroy the *bodies of Men*, but to save both *bodies* and *soules*, *vers.* 55. 56.

If the Civill Magistrate be a Christian, he is bound to be like Christ in saving, not destroying mens bodies.

Secondly, if the *Civill Magistrate*, being a *Christian*, gifted, *prophesie* in the *Church*, 1 *Corinth.* 1. 14. although the *Lord Iesus Christ*, whom they in their owne persons hold forth, shall be refused, yet they are here forbidden to call for fire from *heaven*, that is, to procure or inflict any corporall *judgement* upon such *offenders*, remembring the end of the *Lord Iesus* his comming, not to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them.

The civill Magistrate bound not to inflict nor to suffer any other to inflict violence, stripes, or any corporall punishment for evill against Christ.

Lastly, this also concernes the *conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate*, as he is bound to preserve the *civill peace* and quiet of the *place* and people under him, he is bound to suffer no man to breake the *Civill Peace*, by laying hands of *violence* upon any, though as vile as the *Samaritanes* for not receiving of the *Lord Iesus Christ*.

Revel. 13. 13. Fire from heaven. What the fire from heaven is which the false Prophet bringeth downe.

It is indeed the *ignorance* and blinde *zeale* of the second *Beast*, the *false Prophet*, *Rev.* 13. 13. to perswade the *civill Powers* of the earth to persecute the Saints, that is, to bring fiery *judgements* upon men in a *judiciall way*, and to pronounce that such *judgements* of *imprisonment*, *banishment*, *death*, proceed from Gods righteous *vengeance* upon such *Hereticks*. So dealt divers *Bishops* in *France*, and *England* too in Queene *Maries* dayes with the Saints of God at their putting to death, declaiming against them in their Sermons to the people, and proclaiming that these persecutions even unto death were Gods *just judgements from heaven upon these Heretickes*.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

2 Tim. 2. 25. 26. examined.

Peace. DOubtlesse such fiery spirits (as the Lord Jesus said) are not of God: I pray speake to the second place out of *Timothy*, 2. *Epist.* 25. 26.

Truth. I acknowledge this instruction to be meeke and patient, &c. is properly an instruction to the *Ministers* of the Gospel: Yet divers Arguments from hence will truly and fairly be collected, to manifest and evince how farre the *civill Magistrate* ought to bee from dealing with the *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*.

And first (by the way) I desire to aske, What were these *unconverted Christians* in *Crete*, which the Answerer compareth with the *Samaritanes*, whom *Titus* (saith he) as an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert; and whether the *Lord Iesus* have any such Disciples and Followers, who yet are visibly in an *unconverted estate*. O that it may please the *Father of mercies*, the *Father of lights*, to awaken and open the eyes of all that feare before him, that they may see whether this be the *Language of Canaan*, or the Language of Ashdod.

A quære what the Answerer meanes by his unconverted Christian in Crete.

What is an *unconvertea Christian* but in truth an *unconverted Convert?* that is in English, one *unturned turned: unholy holy: Disciples* or *Followers* of *Iesus* not following of him: In a word, that is *Christians* or anointed by *Christ*, *Antichristians* not anointed with the Spirit of *Iesus Christ*.

Certaine

Certaine it is, ſuch they were not unto whom the Spirit of *God* gives that name, *Alt.* 11. And indeed whither can this tend but to uphold the *blaſphemy* of ſo many as ſay they are *Iewes*, that is, *Chriſtians*, but are not? *Rev.* 2. But as they are not *Chriſtians* from *Chriſt*, but from the *Beaſt* and his *Picture*, ſo their proper name from *Antichriſt*, is *Antichriſtians*. The originall of Chriſtians.

How ſad yet and how true an *evidence* is this, that the ſoule of the Anſwerer (I ſpeake not of his inward ſoule and perſon, but of his worſhip) hath never yet heard the call of the *Lord Ieſus*, to come out from thoſe unconverted *Churches*, from that unconverted *Antichriſtian Chriſtian* world, and ſo from *Antichriſt Belial*, to ſeeke fellowſhip with *Chriſt Ieſus*, and his *converted Chriſtians*, *Diſciples* after the firſt patterne. The Anſwerer yet in the unconverted Churches and worſhips.

Againe, I obſerve the *haſte* and light *attention* of the Anſwerer to theſe Scriptures (as commonly the ſpirits of *Gods children* in matters of *Chriſts Kingdome* are very *ſleepy*) for theſe perſons here ſpoken of were not (as he ſpeakes) unconverted *Chriſtians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* as an *Evangeliſt* was to convert, but they were ſuch *oppoſites* as *Timothy* (to whom *Paul* writes this Letter at *Epheſus*) ſhould meet withall. Gods people ſleepy in the matters of Chriſts Kingdome, Cant. 5.2.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace. BUt what is there in this Scripture of *Timothy* alledged concerning the civill *Magiſtracy*?

Truth. I argue from this place of *Timothy* in particular, thus. 1 Cor. 14. Patience and meekneſſe required in all that open Chriſts myſteries.

Firſt, if the *civill Magiſtrates* bee *Chriſtians*, or members of the *Church*, able to *propheſie in the Church of Chriſt*, then I ſay as before, they are bound by this command of *Chriſt* to ſuffer oppoſition to their *doctrine*, with *meekneſſe* and *gentleneſſe*, and to be ſo farre from ſtriving to ſubdue their *oppoſites* with the *civill ſword*, that they are bound with *patience* and *meekneſſe* to wait if *God* peradventure will pleaſe to grant *repentance* unto their oppoſites.

So alſo it pleaſeth the Anſwerer to acknowledge in theſe words:

"It becomes not the *Spirit* of the *Goſpel* to convert *Aliens* to "the Faith (ſuch as the *Samaritanes*, and the unconverted *Chriſti*-"*ans* in *Crete*) with *Fire* and *Brimſtone*.

Secondly, be they *oppoſitions within*, and *Church members* (as the Anſwerer ſpeakes) become *ſcandalous* in *doctrine*, (I ſpeake not of

ſcandals

ſcandals againſt the *civill State*, which the *civill Magiſtrate* ought to puniſh) it is the *Lord* onely (as this Scripture to *Timothy* implyes) who is able to give them *repentance*, and recover them out of *Sathans* ſnare: to which end alſo he hath appointed thoſe holy and dreadfull *cenſures* in his *Church* or *Kingdome*. True it is, the *Sword* may make (as once the *Lord* complained, *Iſa.*10.) a whole *Nation* of *Hypocrites*: But to recover a Soule from *Sathan* by *repentance*, and to bring them from *Antichriſtian doctrine* or *worſhip*, to the *doctrine* or *worſhip Chriſtian*, in the leaſt true *internall* or *externall* ſubmiſſion, that only works the *All-powerfull God*, by the *ſword* of his Spirit in the hand of his *Spirituall officers*.

The civill Sword may make a Nation of Hypocrites & Antichriſtians, but not one Chriſtian.

What a moſt wofull proofe hereof have the *Nations* of the Earth given in all *Ages*? And to ſeeke no further then our *native* Soyle, within a few ſcores of yeeres, how many wonderfull *changes* in *Religion* hath the *whole Kingdome* made, according to the *change* of the *Governours* thereof, in the ſeverall *Religions* which they themſelves imbraced! *Henry* the 7. finds and leaves the *kingdome* abſolutely *Popiſh*. *Henry* the 8. caſts it into a *mould* half *Popiſh* halfe *Proteſtant*. *Edward* the 6. brings forth an *Edition* all *Proteſtant*. Queene *Mary* within few yeares defaceth *Edwards* worke, and renders the *Kingdome* (after her Grandfather *Hen.*7. his pattern) all *Popiſh*. *Maries* ſhort *life* and *Religion* ends together: and *Elizabeth* reviveth her Brother *Edwards* Modell, all Proteſtant: And ſome eminent *Witneſſes* of Gods Truth againſt *Antichriſt*, have enclined to believe, that before the downfall of that *Beaſt*, England muſt once againe bow down her faire Neck to his proud uſurping yoake and foot.

Wonderfull changes of Religion in England.

Englands changes in point of Religion.

Peace. It hath been *Englands* ſinfull ſhame, to faſhion & change their *Garments* and *Religions* with wondrous *eaſe* and *lightneſſe*, as a *higher Power*, a *ſtronger Sword* hath prevailed; after the ancient patterne of *Nebuchaanezzars* bowing the whole world in one moſt ſolemne *uniformitie* of *worſhip* to his *Golden Image*, Dan. 3.

CHAP. XL.

BUt it hath been thought, or ſaid, Shall *oppoſitions* againſt the *Truth* eſcape unpuniſhed? will they not prove miſchievous, &c.

Truth. I anſwer (as before) concerning the blinde Guides (in caſe

case there be no *Civill offence* committed) the *Magistrates*, & all men that by the mercy of God to themselves discerne the *miserie* of such *Opposites*, have cause to lament and bewaile that fearfull condition wherein such are entangled, to wit, in the *snares* & *chains* of *Satan*, with which they are so invincibly caught and held, that no power in *Heaven* or *Earth*, but the Right hand of the *Lord* in the meeke and gentle dispensing of the *word* of Truth, can release and quit them.

The miserie of opposites against the Truth.

Those many false Christs (of whom the Lord Jesus forewarnes, *Mat.*24.) have sutably their false *bodies*, *faith*, *spirit*, *Baptisme*, as the Lord Jesus, hath his true *body*, *faith*, *spirit*, &c. *Ephes.*4. correspondent also are their *weapons*, and the *successe*, issue, or operation of them. A *carnall weapon* or *sword* of *steele* may produce a *carnall repentance*, a shew, an outside, an *uniformitie* through a State or *Kingdome*: But it hath pleased the Father to exalt the *Lord Jesus* only, to be a Prince (armed with *power* and meanes sufficient) to give *repentance* to *Israel*, Acts 5. 31.

A difference between the true and false Christ and Christians.

Accordingly an *unbelieving* Soule being dead in sinne (although he be changed from one *worship* to another, like a dead man shifted into severall changes of *apparell*) cannot please *God*, Heb. 11. and consequently, whatever such an *unbelieving* & *unregenerate* person acts in *Worship* or *Religion*, it is but sinne, *Rom.*14. *Preaching* sinne, *praying* (though without beads or booke) sinne; *breaking of bread*, or *Lords supper* sinne, yea as odious as the oblation of Swines *blood*, a Dogs *neck*, or *killing of a Man*, Isa. 66.

The worship of unbelieving unregenerate persons.

But *Faith* it is that *gift* which proceeds alone from the *Father* of Lights, *Phil.*1.29. and till he please to make his *light* arise and open the eyes of blind sinners, their soules shall lie fast asleep (and the faster, in that a *sword* of steele compells them to a *worship* in *hypocrisie*) in the dungeons of *spirituall darknesse* and *Sathans slavery*.

Peace. I adde, that a *civill sword* (as wofull experience in all ages hath proved) is so far from bringing or helping forward an *opposite* in *Religion* to *repentance*, that *Magistrates* sinne grievously against the *worke* of *God* and *blood* of Soules, by such proceedings. Because as (commonly) the suffrings of *false* and *Antichristian Teachers* harden their *followers*, who being blind, by this meanes are occasioned to tumble into the *ditch of Hell* after their *blind leaders*, with more inflamed zeale of lying confidence. So secondly, *violence* and a *sword* of *steele* begets such an *impression* in the sufferers, that

The danger & mischiefe of a civill sword in Soule matters, which makes the civill Magistrate deeply guilty of all those evils which he aims to suppresse.

That cannot be a true Religion, which needs carnall weapons to uphold it. Persecutors beget a perswasion of their crueltie in the hearts of the persecuted. Antoninus Pius his golden act.

that certainly they conclude (as indeed that *Religion* cannot be true which needs such *instruments* of *violence* to uphold it so) that *Persecutors* are far from soft and gentle commiseration of the *blindnesse* of others. To this purpose it pleased the *Father* of *Spirits*, of old, to constraine the *Emperour* of *Rome*, *Antoninus Pius*, to write to all the *Governours* of his *Provinces* to forbeare to persecute the *Christians*, because such dealing must needs be so far from converting the *Christians* from their way, that it rather begat in their mindes an opinion of their *cruelties*, &c.

CHAP. XLI.

Isa.2.4. Mic.4.3. Isa.11.9. concerning Christs peaceable Kingdom discussed.

Peace. THe next Scripture against such *persecution*, is that of the *Prophet*, *Isa.*2 4. together with *Mic.*4.3. they shall break their *swords* into *plough-shares*, and their *speares* into *pruning-hookes*, *Isa.*11.9. There shall none hurt or destroy in all the *mountaine* of my *Holinesse*.

Unto which it pleased Mr. *Cotton* to say, "That these *predictions* "doe onely shew, first, with what kinde of *weapons* he should subdue the *Nations* to the *obedience* of the *faith* of the *Gospell*, not by "*fire* and *sword*, and weapons of *War*, but by the power of the *Word* "and *Spirit* of *God*, which saith he, no man doubts of.

Mr. Cottons excellent interpretation of those Prophecies.

"Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew, what the "*meeke* and *peaceable* temper will be of all true *converts* to *Christi*-"*anity*; not *Lyons* or *Leopards*, not *cruell oppressors* nor *malignant op*-"*posers* or *biters* one of another: but doth not forbid them to drive "ravenous *wolves* from the *sheep-fold*, and to restraine them from "devouring the *sheep* of *Christ*.

His doctrine and practice condemned by that interpretation.

Truth. In this first excellent and truly Christian *Answer*, me thinks the *Answerer* may heare a voyce from *Heaven*, Out of thine owne mouth will I judge thee: For what can be said more heavenly by the *tongues* of *Men* and *Angels*, to shew the *heavenly meek temper* of all the *Souldiers* of the *Lambe of God*, as also to set forth what are the *Spirituall weapons* and *ammunition* of the holy war and battle of the *Gospell* and *Kingdome* of *Jesus Christ*, for the subduing of the *Nations* of the World unto him.

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Truth. In theſe words (according to the judgement here maintained by him) he fights againſt the former *truth* (to wit, that by *ſpirituall weapons Chriſt Jeſus* will ſubdue the *Nations* of the *Earth* to the *obedience* of the *Goſpel*) for by driving away theſe *Wolves* hee intends not onely the *reſiſtance* and *violence* which the *Shepherds* of *Chriſt* ought ſpiritually to make, but the *civill reſiſtance* of the *materiall Swords, Staves Guns, &c.* Whence I argue, that ſame power that forceth the evill (or Wolves) out, forceth the good (the Sheepe) in; for of the *ſame* or *like* things is the *ſame* or *like* reaſon; as the ſame *arme of fleſh* that with a *ſtaffe* beats off a *Wolfe*, with a *Rod* and *Hooke* brings in the *Sheepe*: the ſame *dog* that aſſaulteth and teareth the *Wolfe*, frighteth and forceth in the *ſtraggling Sheep*. Spirituall and myſticall Wolves.

CHAP. XLII.

Peace. BVt for the clearer opening of this *myſtery*, I pray explicate that Scripture where the *Spirit of God* is pleaſed to uſe this ſimilitude of *Wolves*, *Acts* 20.29. out of which (keeping to the Allegory) I ſhall propoſe theſe Quæries. Act. 20.29. opened.

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Therefore (thirdly) ſuch as brought other *Religions* and *Worſhips*, as the *Spirit of God* opens it, *verſ.* 30. Such as amongſt themſelves ſhould ſpeake *perverſe things*, as many *Antichriſts* did, and eſpecially *The Antichriſt*. And I aske whether or no ſuch as may hold forth other *Worſhips* or *Religions*, (*Iewes*, *Turkes*, or *Antichriſtians*) may not be peaceable and quiet *Subjects*, loving and helpfull *neighbours*, faire and juſt *dealers*, true and loyall to the *civill government*? It is cleare they may from all *Reaſon* and *Experience* in many flouriſhing *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the World, and ſo offend not againſt the *civill State* and *Peace*; nor incurre the puniſhment of the *civill ſword*, notwithſtanding that in *ſpirituall* and *myſticall accounts* they are ravenous and greedy *Wolves*. What thoſe Wolves were. Act. 20.29.

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Peace. 2. I quære to whom *Paul* gave this charge to watch againſt them, *verſ.* 31.

Truth. They were not the *Magistrates* of the *City* of *Ephesus*, but the *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church of Christ* (his mysticall flock of sheepe) at *Ephesus*: Vnto them was this *charge* of *watching* given, and so consequently of driving away these *Wolves*.

Charges directed to Ministers of the spirituall kingdome, fitly applyed to the Magistrates of the civill.

And however that many of these *charges* and *exhortations* given by that *One Shepherd Christ Iesus* to the *Shepherds* or *Ministers* of *Churches*, be commonly attributed and directed (by the Answerer in this discourse) to the *civill Magistrate*; yet I desire in the feare and holy presence of God it may bee inquired into, whether in all the *Will* or *Testament* of *Christ* there bee any such *word* of *Christ* by way of *command*, *promise*, or *example*, countenancing the Governors of the *civill State* to meddle with these *Wolves*, if in *civill* things *peaceable* and *obedient*.

No word of Christ to the civill Magistrate to feed his flock, but to his Ministers, who (if true) have spirituall power sufficient against spirituall Wolves.

Peace. Truly if this charge were given to the Magistrates at *Ephesus*, or any Magistrates in the World, doubtlesse they must bee able to discerne and determine (out of their owne *officiall abilities* in these spirituall Law questions) who are spirituall *Sheep*, what is their *food*, what their *poison*, what their *properties*, who their *Keepers*, &c. So on the contrary who are *Wolves*, what their *properties*, their *haunts*, their *assaults*, the manner of taking, &c. spiritually: (and this beside the care and study of the Civill Lawes, and the discerning of his owne proper Civill *Sheep*, obedient Sheepe, &c. as also wolvish oppressors, &c. whom he is bound to punish and suppresse)

Magistrates decline the name of Head of the Church, and yet practise the headship or government.

Truth. I know that Civill Magistrates (in some places) have declined the name of *Head* of the Church, and *Ecclesiasticall* Judge, yet can they not with good conscience decline the *name*, if they doe the *worke*, and performe the *office* of determining and punishing a meerly spirituall *Wolfe*.

They must be sufficiently also able to judge in all *spirituall* causes, and that with their owne, and not with other mens eyes, (no more then they doe in *civill causes*) contrary to the common practice of the Governours and Rulers of Civill States, who often set up that for a *Religion* or *Worship* to God, which the *Clergie* or Churchmen (as men speake) shall in their Consciences agree upon.

And if this be not so, to wit, that *Magistrates* must not be *Spirituall Judges* (as some decline it in the title, Supreme Head and Governour) why is *Gallio* wont to be exclaimed against for refusing to be a *Judge* in such matters as concerned the *Iewish Worship* and *Religion*? How is he censured for a *Prophane person*, without *conscience*, &c.

&c. in that he would bee no *Iudge* or *Head*? (for that is all one in point of Government.)

Peace. In the third place I quærie whether the *Father* who gave, and the *Sonne* who keepes the Sheepe, bee not greater then all? Who can pluck theſe Sheepe the *Elect* out of his hand, which anſwers that common objection of that danger of devouring, although there were no other weapons in the world appointed by the Lord Jeſus. But

The Elect ſhall not be devoured.

CHAP. XLIII.

FOurthly, I ask, Were not theſe *Elders* or *Miniſters* of the *Church* of *Epheſus* ſufficiently furniſhed from the *Lord Ieſus* to drive away theſe myſticall and ſpirituall Wolves?

Chriſt Jeſus furniſheth his Shepherds with power ſufficient to drive away Wolves. Tit. 1. 9. 10. opened.

Truth. True it is, againſt the inhumane and uncivill violence of Perſecutors, they were not, nor are *Gods children* able and provided: but to reſiſt, drive away, expell, and kill ſpirituall & myſticall *Wolves* by the *word* of the *Lord*, none are fit to be Chriſts Shepherds who are not able, *Tit.* 1. 9. 10. 11. The *Biſhop* or *Overſeer* muſt be able by ſound *doctrine* both to exhort and to convince the Gainſayers: which Gainſayers to be by him convinced, that is, overcome or ſubdued (though it may be in themſelves ever obſtinate) they were I ſay as greedy *Wolves* in *Crete*, as any could be at *Epheſus*: for ſo ſaith *Paul* verſ. 10. they were unruly and vaine talkers, deceivers, whoſe mouthes muſt bee ſtopped, who ſubverted whole houſes; and yet *Titus* (and every ordinary Shepherd of a flocke of *Chriſt*) had ability ſufficient to defend the flock from ſpirituall and myſticall *wolves* without the helpe of the Civill Magiſtrate.

Peace. In this reſpect therefore me thinks we may fitly allude to that excellent anſwer of *Iob* to *Bildad* the *Shuhite*, *Iob* 26. How haſt thou helped him that is without power? How ſaveſt thou the *arme* that hath no ſtrength? How haſt thou counſelled him that hath no *wiſedome*? how haſt thou plentifully declared the thing as it is? Job 26. 1, 2.

5. Laſtly, I ask, whether (as men deale with Wolves) theſe *wolves* at *Epheſus* were intended by *Paul* to be killed, their braines daſht out with ſtones, ſtaves, halberts, guns, &c. in the hands of the Elders of Epheſus, &c?

Truth. Doubtleſſe (comparing ſpirituall things with ſpirituall)

all such mysticall wolves must spiritually and mystically so be slain. And the *Witnesses* of *Truth*, Revel. 11. speake fire, and kill all that hurt them, by that *fierie* Word of *God*, and that two-edged *sword* in their hand, *Psal.* 149.

Unmercifull and bloody doctrine.

But oh what streames of the *blood* of Saints have been and must be shed (untill the *Lambe* have obtained the Victorie, *Revel.* 17.) by this unmercifull (and in the state of the New *Testament*, when the *Church* is spread all the World over) most *bloody doctrine*, viz. The *wolves* (Hereticks) are to be driven away, their braines *knocke* out and *kill'd*, the poore sheepe to be preserved for whom Christ died, &c.

Is not this to take *Christ Jesus*, and make him a temporall *King* by force? *John* 6.15. Is not this to make his *Kingdome* of this *world*, to set up a *civill* and temporall *Israel*, to bound out new *Earthly holy Lands* of *Canaan*, yea and to set up a *Spanish Inquisition* in all parts of the *World*, to the speedy destruction of thousands, yea of millions of Soules, and the frustrating of the sweet *end* of the comming of the *Lord Iesus*, to wit, to save *mens soules* (and to that end not to destroy their *bodies*) by his own blood?

CHAP. XLIV.

John 6.15. 2 Cor. 10.4. discussed.

Peace. THe next Scripture produced against such Persecution, is 2 *Cor.* 10.4. The *weapons* of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but mighty through *God* to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down *imaginations*, and every high thing that exalteth it selfe against the *knowledge of God*, and bringing into *captivity* every thought to the obedience of *Christ*, and having in a readinesse to avenge all *disobedience*, &c.

Unto which it is answered, "When *Paul* saith, The *weapons* "of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but *spirituall*: he denieth not *ci-* "*vill* weapons of *Justice* to the *civill Magistrate*, Rom 13. but only "to *Church-officers*: and yet the *weapons* of *Church officers* he ac- "knowledgeth to be such, as though they be *spirituall*, yet are ready "to take *vengeance* on all *disobedience*, 2 Cor. 10.6. which hath re- "ference, amongst other *Ordinances*, to the censures of the *Church* "against *scandalous offenders*.

Truth. I acknowledge that herein the Spirit of *God* denieth not *civill*

civill weapons of *justice* to the *Civill Magistrate*, which the Scripture he quotes, *Rom.* 13. abundantly testifie.

Yet withall I must aske, why he here affirmeth the Apostle denies not *civill weapons* of Justice to the *civill Magistrate*? of which there is no question, unlesse that (according to his scope of proving *persecution* for *conscience*) he intends withall, that the *Apostle* denies not *civill weapons* of *justice* to the Civill *Magistrate* in *Spirituall* and *Religious* causes: The contrary whereunto (the Lord assisting) I shall evince, both from this very Scripture, and his owne observation, and lastly by that 13 of the Romanes, by himsefe quoted.

First then from this *Scripture* and his owne *Observation*: The *weapons* of *Church officers* (saith he) are such, which though they be *spirituall*, are ready to take vengeance on all *disobedience*; which hath reference (saith he) amongst other Ordinances, to the Censures of the *Church* against scandalous offenders.

I hence observe, that there being in this Scripture held forth a two-fold state, a *Civill state* and a *Spirituall*, *Civill officers* and *spirituall*, *civill weapons* and *spirituall weapons*, *civill vengeance* and *punishment*, and a *spirituall vengeance* and *punishment*: although the *Spirit* speakes not here expressly of *Civill Magistrates* and their *civill weapons*, yet these States being of different Natures and Considerations, as far differing as *Spirit* from *Flesh*, I first observe, that *Civill weapons* are most improper and unfitting in matters of the *Spirituall state* and *kingdome*, though in the *Civill state* most proper and sutable.

The difference of the civill & spirituall estate.

Civill weapons most improper in spirituall causes best fitly exemplified by that similitude, 2 Cor. 10. 4.

CHAP. XLV.

FOr (to keepe to the *similitude* which the *Spirit* useth, for instance) To batter downe a *strong hold*, *high wall*, *fort*, *tower* or *castle*, men bring not a first and second *Admonition*, and after obstinacie, *Excommunication*, which are *spirituall weapons* concerning them that be in the *Church*: nor *exhortations* to *Repent* and be *baptized*, to beleeve in the Lord Jesus, &c. which are proper weapons to them that be without, &c. But to take a *strong hold*, men bring *Canons*, *Culverins*, *Saker*, *Bullets*, *Powder*, *Musquets*, *Swords*, *Pikes*, &c. and these to this end are weapons effectuall and proportionable.

On

Spirituall weapons, only effectuall in spirituall & soule causes.

On the other side, to batter downe *Idolatry*, *false worship*, *heresie*, *schisme*, *blindnesse*, *hardnesse*, out of the *soule* and *spirit*, it is vaine, improper, and unsutable to bring those *weapons* which are used by *persecutors*, *stocks*, *whips*, *prisons*, *swords*, *gibbets*, *stakes*, &c. (where these seem to prevaile with some Cities or Kingdomes, a stronger force sets up againe, what a weaker pull'd downe) but against these *spirituall strong holds* in the soules of men, *Spirituall Artillery* and *weapons* are proper, which are mighty through *God* to subdue and bring under the very *thought* to *obedience*, or else to binde fast the soule with *chaines* of *darknesse*, and locke it up in the *prison* of *unbeleefe* and hardnesse to *eternity*.

Civill weapons not only improper, but unnecessary in spirituall causes.

2. I observe that as *civill weapons* are improper in this businesse, and never able to effect ought in the *soule*: So (although they were proper, yet) they are *unnecessary*, for if as the *Spirit* here saith (and the *Answerer* grants) *spirituall weapons* in the hand of *Church officers* are able and ready to take *vengeance* on all disobedience, that is *able* and mighty, sufficient and ready for the *Lords* worke either to *save* the soule, or to *kill* the soule of whomsoever, be the party or parties opposite, in which respect I may againe remember that speech of *Job*, How hast thou helped him that hath no power? *Job* 26.

No earthly Kings or Governours will be so served, as we pretend to serve the King of Kings.

Peace. Offer this (as *Malachie* once spake) to the Governours the *Kings* of the *Earth*, when they besiege, beleagure, and assault great Cities, Castles, Forts, &c. should any subject pretending his service bring store of *pins*, *sticks*, *strawes*, *bulrushes*, to beat and batter downe *stone walls*, mighty Bulwarkes, what might his expectation and reward be, but at least the censure of a man distract, beside himselfe? &c.

Psal. 45. The white Troopers.

Truth. What shall we then conceive of His *displeasure*, (who is the *chiefe* or *Prince* of the *Kings* of the earth, and rides upon the *Word* of *Truth* and *meekenesse*, which is that *white Horse*, *Rev.* 6. and *Rev.* 19. with His holy *witnesses* the *white Troopers* upon *white horses*) when to His *helpe* and *aid* men bring and adde such *unnecessary*, *improper* and weake munition?

Spirituall Ammunition. Eph. 6. applied Materiall and Spirituall Artillery unfitly joyned together.

Will the *Lord Jesus* (did He ever in His owne Person practice, or did he appoint to) joyne to His *Breastplate* of *Righteousnesse*, the *breastplate* of *iron* and *steele*? to the *Helmet* of *righteousnesse* and *salvation* in *Christ*, an helmet and crest of *iron*, *brasse*, or *steel*, a target of wood to His shield of Faith? His two *edged sword* comming forth of the mouth of *Jesus*, the *materiall sword*, the worke of Smiths

and

and Cutlers? or a girdle of shooes leather to the girdle of truth, &c. Excellently fit and proper is that *alarme* and *item*, *Psal.* 2. Be *wise* therefore O ye *Kings* (especially those ten *Horns*, *Rev.* 17.) who under pretence of fighting for *Christ Jesus* give their power to the *Beast* against *Him*, and be warned ye *Judges* of the Earth: *Kisse the Son*, that is with *subjection* and *affection*, acknowledge Him only the *King* and *Judge* of *soules* (in that power bequeathed to His *Ministers* and *Churches*) lest if His wrath be kindled, yea but a little, then *blessed* are they that *trust* in Him.

An alarme to civill or earthly Rulers.

CHAP. XLVI.

Peace. NOw in the second place concerning that Scripture, *Rom.* 13. which it pleaseth the *Answerer* to quote, and himselfe, and so many excellent servants of God have insisted upon to prove such *persecution* for *Conscience*; how have both he and they *wrested* this Scripture (not as *Peter* writes of the *wicked*, to their *eternall*, yet) to their owne and others *temporall destruction* by Civill *wars* and *combustions* in the world?

Concerning the civill Rulers power in spirituall causes discust.

My humble request therefore is to the Father of *Lights*, to send out the bright *beames* of the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, and to scatter the mist which that old *serpent*, the great *jugler Sathan*, hath raised about this holy Scripture, and my request to you (divine *Truth*) is for your care and paines to inlighten and cleare this Scripture.

Truth. First then upon the serious *examination* of this whole Scripture it will appeare that from the ninth verse of 12 Chap. to the end of this whole 13 Chap. the Spirit handles the duties of the Saints in the carefull observation of the second Table in their civil conversation, or walking towards men, and speaks not at all of any point or matter of the first Table concerning the *Kingdome* of the *Lord Jesus*.

Rom. 13. speakes not at all of spirituall but civill affaires.

For, having in the whole Epistle handled that great point of free *Justification* by the free *Grace* of *God* in *Christ*, in the beginning of the 12 Chap. he exhorts the *Beleevers* to give and dedicate themselves unto the Lord both in *soule* and *body*, and unto the 9 verse of the 12 Chap. he expressely mentioneth their *conversation* in the *Kingdome* or *Body* of *Christ Jesus*, together with the severall Officers thereof.

And from the 9 ver. to the end of the 13 he plainly discourseth of

their civill converſation, and walking, one toward another, and with all men, from whence he hath faire occaſion to ſpeake largely concerning their ſubjection to *Magiſtrates* in the 13 Chap.

The ſcope of Rom 13.

Hence it is that verſe 7 of this 13 Chap. *Paul* exhorts to performance of *love* to all men (*Magiſtrates and ſubjects*) verſe 7. 8. Render therefore to all their due, *tribute* to whom *tribute* is due, *cuſtome* to whom *cuſtome*, *feare* to whom *feare*, *honour* to whom *honour*. Owe nothing to any man, but to *love* one another, for he that *loveth* another hath fulfilled the *Law*.

Love to man, the duty of the whole ſecond Table.

If any man doubt (as the Papiſts ſpeak) whether a man may perfectly fulfill the *Law*; every man of ſound judgement is ready to anſwer him that theſe words [He *that loveth hath fulfilled the Law*] concerneth not the whole *Law* in the firſt Table, that is the *worſhip* and *Kingdome* of *God* in *Chriſt*.

How love fulfilleth the Law

Secondly, That the Apoſtle ſpeaks not here of perfect obſervation of the ſecond Table without failing in word or act toward men, but layes open the ſumme and ſubſtance of the *Law*, which is *love*, and that he that walkes by the rule of *love* toward all *men* (*Magiſtrates* and *ſubjects*) he hath rightly attained unto what the *Law* aimes at, and ſo in *Evangelicall obedience* fulfills and keeps the *Law*.

Hence therefore againe in the 9 verſe having diſcourſed of the 5 Command in this point of *Superiours*, he makes all the reſt of the Commandements of the ſecond Table, which concerne our *walking* with man (viz. *Thou ſhalt not kill*, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*, *Thou ſhalt not ſteale*, *Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe*, *Thou ſhalt not covet*: and if there be any other Commandement, to be briefly comprehended in this ſaying, namely, *Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelfe*.

And verſe 10 *Love* worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore *love* is the fulfilling of the Law, that is (as before) the *Law* concerning our *civill converſation* toward All men, *Magiſtrates* or *Governours*, and fellow-ſubjects of all conditions.

CHAP. XLVII.

Rom. 13 ſo interpreted even by them that held perſecution for conſcience.

Peace. ALthough the Scripture is ſufficient to make the *man of God perfect*, and the *ſoole wiſe* to *ſalvation*, and our *faith* in *God* muſt be only founded upon the *Rocke Chriſt*, and not upon the

the *ſand* of mens *judgements* and *opinions*: Yet as *Paul* alledgeth the *judgement* and ſayings of *unbeleevers* for their *conviction* out of their owne *tenets* and *grants*: So I pray you to ſet downe the words of one or two (not unbeleevers in their *perſons*, but excellent and pretious *ſervants* and *witneſſes* of *God* in their times, whoſe *names* are ſweet and pretious to all that *feare God*) who although their *judgement* ran in the *common ſtreame*, *viz.* That *Magiſtrates* were keepers of the 2 *Tables*, *defendors* of the *Faith* againſt *Hereticks*, and notwithſtanding what ever they have written for defence of their *judgements*, yet the *light* of *truth* ſo evidently ſhined upon their *ſoules* in this Scripture, that they abſolutely denied the 13 of the *Romanes* to concerne any matter of the firſt *Table*.

Truth. Firſt, I ſhall produce that excellent ſervant of *God*, *Calvin*, who upon this 13 to the *Romanes* writes; *Tota autem hæc diſputatio eſt de civilibus præfecturis: Itaq, fruſtrà inde ſacrilegam ſuam tyrannidem ſtabilire moliuntur qui Dominatum in conſcientias exerceant*: But (ſaith he) this whole *diſcourſe* concerneth *civill Magiſtrates*, and therefore in vaine doe they who exerciſe *power* over *conſciences*, goe about from this place to eſtabliſh their *ſacrilegious tyranny*. Calvins judgement of Rom. 13.

Peace. I know how far moſt men (and eſpecially the ſheep of *Ieſus* will flie from the thought of exerciſing tyranny over *conſcience*) that happily they will diſclaime the dealing of all with *mens conſciences*: Yet if the Acts and Statutes which are made by them concerning the worſhip of God be attended to; their profeſſion (and that out of zeale according to the patterne of that *ceremoniall* and figurative ſtate of *Iſrael*) to ſuffer no other Religion nor worſhip in their Territories, but *one*; their *profeſſion* and *practice* to defend their *Faith* from reproach and blaſphemy of *Hereticks* by *Civill weapons*, and all that from this very 13 of the *Romanes*; I ſay if theſe particulars and others be with feare and trembling in the preſence of the moſt High examined; the wonderfull *deceit* of their owne *hearts* ſhall appeare unto them, and how *guilty* they will appeare to be of wreſting this Scripture before the Tribunall of the moſt High. Gods people loath to be found, yet proved perſecutors.

Truth. Again *Calvin* ſpeaking concerning fulfilling of the *Law* by *love*, writes thus on the ſame place: *Sed Paulus in totam Legem non reſpicit tantum de officiis loquitur, quæ nobis ergà proximũ demandantur à lege*: That is, *Paul* hath not reſpect unto the whole *Law*, he ſpeaks

only of those duties which the Law commands towards our neighbours, and it is manifest, that in this place by our *neighbours* hee meanes *high* and *low*, *Magistrates* and *subjects*, unto whom we ought to walke by the rule of *love*, paying unto every one their due.

Againe, *Caterùm Paulus hic tantùm meminit secundæ Tabulæ quia de ea tantum erat quæstio:* But *Paul* here only mentioneth the second *Table*, because the question was only concerning that.

Calvin confesseth that the first Table concerning Gods worship, is not here in Rom. 13. touched.

And againe, *Quod autem repetit complementum legis esse dilectionem, intellige (ut prius) de ea legis parte quod hominum societatem spectat: Prior enim legis tabula quæ est de cultu Dei minimè hic attingitur:* But in that he repeateth that *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, understand as before, that he speakes of that part of the *Law* which respects *humane society*; for the first Table of the *Law* which concerneth the Worship of *God* is not in the least manner here touched.

Beza upon Rom. 13.

After *Calvin*, his successour in *Geneva* that holy and learned *Beza* upon the word Ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, if there be any other Commandement it is summed up in this, Thou shalt love thy *neighbour* as thy *selfe*, writes thus: *Tota lex nihil aliud quàm amorem Dei & proximi præcipit, sed tamen cum Apostolus hoc loco de mutuis hominum officiis differat, legis vocabulum ad secundam Tabulam restringendam puto.*

The whole Law (saith he) commands nothing else but the *love* of *God*, and yet nevertheless since the *Apostle* in this place discourseth of the *duties* of men one *toward* another, I thinke this terme *law* ought to be restrained to the second Table.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace. I Pray now proceed to the second Argument from this Scripture against the use of *civill weapons* in *matters of Religion* and spirituall worship.

Truth. The Spirit of God here commands subjection and obedience to *higher Powers*, even to the *Romane Emperours* and all subordinate *Magistrates*; and yet the Emperours and Governours under them were strangers from the life of God in Christ, yea most averse and *opposite*, yea *cruell* and bloody Persecutors of the name and Followers of *Jesus*: and yet unto these is this *subjection* and *obedience* com-

commanded. Now true it is, that as the *civill Magistrate* is apt not to content himselfe with the *majesty* of an *earthly Throne, Crowne, Sword, Scepter*, but to seat himselfe in the *Throne* of *David* in the *Church*: So *Gods* people (and it may be in *Pauls* time) considering their high and glorious *preferment* and *priviledges* by *Jesus Christ*, were apt to be much tempted to despise Civill Governours, especially such as were ignorant of the Son of God, and persecuted him in his servants.

Now then I argue, if the *Apostle* should have commanded this *subjection* unto the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Magistrates* in spirituall causes, as to *defend* the *truth* which they were no way able to *discerne*, but *persecuted*, (and upon trust from others no Magistrate (not perswaded in his owne *conscience*) is to take it.)

Paul writes not to the Romane Governors to defend the truth, and to punish hereticks.

Or else to punish Hereticks, whom then also they must *discerne* and *judge*, or else condemne them as the *Jewes* would have *Pilate* condemne the *Lord Jesus* upon the *sentence* of others, I say if *Paul* should have (in this Scripture) put this worke upon these *Romane Governours*, and commanded the *Churches of Christ* to have yeelded *subjection* in any such matters, he must (in the judgement of all men) have put out the eye of *Faith* and *Reason* and *Sense* at once.

CHAP. XLIX.

Peace. IT is said by some, Why then did *Paul* himselfe, *Act.* 25. appeale to *Cæsar*, unlesse that *Cæsar* (though he was not, yet) he ought to have beene a fit *Judge* in such matters?

Truth. I answer, if *Paul* in this *Appeale* to *Cæsar*, had referred and submitted simply and properly the cause of *Christ*, his *Ministry* and *Ministration* to the *Romane Emperours* Tribunall, knowing him to be an *Idolatrous stranger* from the *true God*, and a *Lion*-like bloody *persecutor* of the *Lord Iesus*, the *Lambe* of *God*, I say let it be considered whether or no he had committed these 5. *Evils*.

Pauls appeale to *Cæsar* discussed.

If *Paul* had appealed to *Cæsar* in spirituall things, he had committed 5. evils.

The first against the dimmest light of *Reason* in appealing to *darkenesse* to judge *light*, to *unrighteousnesse* to judge *righteousnesse*, the *spiritually blinde*, to judge and end the controversie concerning *heavenly colours*.

Secondly, against the cause of *Religion*, which if condemned by every inferiour *Idolater*, must needs bee condemned by the *Cæsars* themselves, who (*Nabuchadnezzar*-like) set up their *State-images* or *Reli-*

Religions, commanding the *Worlds uniformity* of *worſhip* to them.

Thirdly, againſt the holy State and Calling of the *Chriſtians* themſelves, who (by virtue of their ſubjection to *Chriſt*) even the leaſt of them are in *ſpirituall* things above the higheſt *Potentates* or *Emperours* in the world, who continue in *enmity* againſt, or in an *ignorant naturall* ſtate without *Chriſt Jeſus*. This honour or high *exaltation* above all his *Holy ones*, to binde (not literally but ſpiritually) their *Kings* in Chaines, and their *Nobles* in Linkes of Iron, *Pſal.*49.

Fourthly, againſt his owne *Calling*, *Apoſtleſhip*, or office of *Miniſtery*, unto which *Caſar* himſelfe and all *Potentates* (in ſpirituall and ſoule matters) ought to have ſubmitted: and unto which in controverſies of *Chriſts Church* and *Kingdome*, *Caſar* himſelf ought to have *appealed*, the *Church* of God being built upon the foundation of the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*, *Epheſ.*2.20.

Emperours themſelves, if Chriſtians, ſubject to the Apoſtles and Churches in ſpirituall things.

And therefore in caſe that any of the *Romane Governours*, or the *Emperour* himſelfe had beene humbled and converted to *Chriſtianity*, by the preaching of *Chriſt*, were not they themſelves bound to ſubject themſelves unto the power of the *Lord Ieſus* in the hands of the Apoſtles and Churches, and might not the Apoſtles and Churches have refuſed to have baptized or waſhed them into the profeſſion of *Chriſt Ieſus*, upon the apprehenſion of their unworthineſſe?

Or if received into *Chriſtian Fellowſhip*, were they not to ſtand at the Bar of the *Lord Ieſus* in the *Church*, concerning either their *opinions* or *practices*, were they not to be caſt out and delivered unto *Sathan* by the power of the *Lord Ieſus*, if after once and twice *admonition* they perſiſt obſtinate, as faithfully and impartially, as if they were the meaneſt in the *Empire*: Yea, although the Apoſtles, the Churches, the Elders or Governours thereof were poore and meane deſpiſed perſons in civill reſpects, and were themſelves bound to yeeld all faithfull and loyall *obedience* to ſuch Emperours and Governours in Civill things.

Were they not (if *Chriſtians*) bound themſelves to have ſubmitted to thoſe ſpirituall decrees of the Apoſtles and Elders, as well as the loweſt and meaneſt members of *Chriſt*, *Act.*16? And if ſo, how ſhould *Paul* appeale in *ſpirituall* things to *Caſar*, or write to the *Churches* of *Ieſus* to ſubmit in *Chriſtian* or *Spirituall* matters?

Fifthly, if *Paul* had appealed to *Caſar* in ſpirituall reſpects, hee had

had greatly prophaned the holy name of *God* in holy things, in so improper and vaine a *prostitution* of *spirituall* things to carnall and *naturall* judgements, which are not able to comprehend *spirituall* matters, which are alone spiritually discerned, 1 *Cor.* 2.

And yet *Cæsar* (as a *civill* supreme *Magistrate*) ought to defend *Paul* from Civill *violence*, and *slanderous accusations* about *sedition*, *mutiny*, *civill disobedience*, &c. And in that sense who doubts but *Gods people* may appeale to the Romane *Cæsar*, an Egyptian *Pharaoh*, a Philistian *Abimelecke*, an Assyrian *Nabuchadnezzar*, the great *Mogol*, *Prester Iohn*, the great *Turke*, or an Indian *Sachim*?

Lawfull appeales in civill things to Civill Magistrates.

CHAP. L.

Peace. WHich is the third Argument against the *civill Magistrates* power in *spirituall* and soule matters out of this Scripture, *Rom.* 13?

Truth. I dispute from the nature of the Magistrates *weapons*, *vers.* 4. He hath a *sword* (which hee beares not in vaine) delivered to him, as I acknowledge from *Gods appointment* in the free consent and choice of the *subjects* for common good.

We must distinguish of *swords*.

We finde foure sorts of *swords* mentioned in the *New Testament*.

Foure sorts of swords mentioned in the New Testament.

First, the *sword* of *persecution*, which *Herod* stretched forth against *Iames*, *Act.* 12.

Secondly, the *sword* of *Gods Spirit*, expresly said to be the *Word of God*, *Ephes.* 6. A *sword* of two *edges* caried in the *mouth* of *Christ*, *Rev.* 1. which is of strong and mighty *operation*, piercing betweene the *bones* and the *marrow*, betweene the *soule* and the *spirit*, *Heb.* 4.

Thirdly, the great *sword* of *War* and Destruction, given to him that rides that terrible *Red Horse* of *War*, so that he takes *Peace* from the *Earth*, and men kill *one another*, as is most lamentably true in the *slaughter* of so many hundred thousand soules within these few yeares in severall parts of *Europe*, our owne and others.

None of these 3 *swords* are intended in this *Scripture*:

The Civill Sword.

Therefore, fourthly, there is a *Civill sword*, called the Sword of *Civill justice*; which being of a *materiall civill nature*, for the *defence* of *Persons*, *Estates*, *Families*, *Liberties* of a *City* or *Civill State*, and the *suppressing* of *uncivill* or injurious persons or actions by such *civill punishment*, It cannot according to its utmost reach and capacitie

citie (now under *Christ*, when all *Nations* are meerly *civill*, without any such typicall holy respect upon them, as was upon *Israel* a *Nationall Church*) I say, cannot extend to *spirituall* and *Soul-causes*, Spirituall and Soule *punishment*, which belongs to that *spirituall sword* with two edges, the *soule-piercing* (in *soule-saving* or *soule-killing*) the Word of God.

CHAP. LII.

Tribute, Custome, &c. meerly civill recompences for civil work.

Truth. A Fourth Argument from this Scripture I take in the 6. verse, from *Tribute, custome, &c.* which is a meerly *civill Reward* or *Recompence* for the *Magistrates* worke. Now as the *wages* are, such is the *worke*: But the *wages* are meerely *civill*, *Custome*, *Tribute*, *&c.* not the *contributions* of the Saints or *Churches* of *Christ* (proper to the *Spirituall* and *Christian state*) and such *work* only must the *Magistrate* attend upon, as may properly deserve such *civill wages*, reward or recompence.

Magistrates called by God Gods Ministers.

Lastly, that the *Spirit of God* never intended to direct or warrant the *Magistrate* to use his Power in *spirituall* affaires and *Religious* worship: I argue, from the *terme* or *title* it pleaseth the wisedome of God to give such (*civill officers*, to wit, (vers. 6.) *Gods Ministers*.

Now at the very first blush, no man denies a double *Ministerie*.

The Spirituall Ministery.

The one appointed by *Christ Jesus* in his *Church*, to *gather*, to *governe*, *receive in*, *cast out*, and order all the affaires of the *Church*, the *House*, *Citie* or *Kingdome* of *God*, Ephes. 4. 1 Cor. 12.

The civill Ministery or service.

Secondly, a Civill *Ministery* or *office*, meerely *humane* and *civill*, which Men agree to constitute (called therefore an humane *creation*, (1 Pet. 2.) and is as true and lawfull in those Nations, Cities, Kingdomes, &c. which never heard of the true *God*, nor his holy Sonne *Jesus*, as in any part of the World beside, where the Name of *Jesus* is most taken up.

From all which *premises*, viz. that the scope of the *Spirit of God* in this Chapter is to handle the matters of the *second Table* (having handled the matters of the *first* in the 12.) since the Magistrates of whom *Paul* wrote, were naturall, ungodly, persecuting, and yet lawfull Magistrates, and to be obeyed in all lawfull Civill things.

Since all *Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, essentially *civill*, bounded

ded to a *civill* work, with *civill weapons* or instruments, and paid or rewarded with *civill* rewards. From all which, I say, I undeniably collect, that this *Scripture* is generally mistaken, and wrested from the scope of Gods Spirit, and the nature of the place, and cannot truly be alleadged by any for the Power of the *Civill Magistrate* to be exercised in *spiritnall* and *Soule-matters*.

CHAP. LII.

Peace. AGainst this I know many object out of the 4 verse of this Chapter, that the *Magistrate* is to avenge or punish *Evill*: from whence is gathered, that *Heresie*, false *Christs*, false *Churches*, false *Ministeries*, false *Seales*, being evill, ought to be punished Civilly, &c.

What is to be understood by Evill, Rom. 13 4.

Truth. I answer, that the word κακὸν is generally opposed to *Civill Goodnesse* or *Virtue* in a *Common-wealth*, and not to *Spirituall Good* or *Religion* in the *Church*.

Secondly, I have proved from the scope of the place, that here is not intended *Evill* against the *Spirituall* or *Christian Estate*, handled in the 12 Chap. but *Evill* against the *Civill State*, in this 13. properly falling under the cognizance of the *Civill Minister* of *God*, the *Magistrate*, and punishable by that *civill sword* of his, as an *incivilitie*, *disorder*, or breach of that *civill order*, *peace* and *civility*, unto which all the Inhabitants of a *City*, *Town*, or *Kingdome* oblige themselves.

Peace. I have heard that the *Elders* of the *New-English Churches*, (who yet out of this 13 *Rom.* maintaine Persecution) grant that the *Magistrate* is to preserve the *peace* and welfare of the *State*, and therefore that he ought not to punish such sinnes as hurt not his *peace*. In particular, they say, the *Magistrate* may not punish *secret sinnes* in the *Soule*: Nor such sinnes as are yet handling in the *Church* in a *private* way: Nor such sinnes which are private in *Families*; and therefore they say, the *Magistrate* transgresseth to prosecute complaints of *children* against their *parents*, *servants* against *masters*, *wives* against *husbands*, (and yet this proper to the Civill State) Nor such sinnes as are between the *Members* and *Churches* themselves.

And they confesse, that if the *Magistrate* punish, and the *Church* punish, there will be a greater Rent in their *Peace*.

Some give to the Magistrate what is not his, and take from him that which is proper to him.

Truth. From thence (sweet *Peace*) may we well observe,

First, the *Magistrate* is not to punish all *Evill*, according to this their *confession.*

The distinction of *private* and *publike Evill* will not here availe, because such as urge that terme *Evill*, viz. that the Magistrate is to punish *Evill*, urge it strictly, *eo nomine*, because *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, *false Church*, *false Ministerie* is *evill*, as well as Disorder in a Civill State.

Secondly, I observe, how they take away from the *Magistrate* that which is proper to his cognisance, as the *complaints* of *servants*, *children*, *wives*, against their *parents*, *masters*, *husbands*, &c. (*Families* as families, being as stones which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the *Magistrates* care, in respect of Civill Government, Civill order and obedience.)

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. I Pray now (lastly) proceed to the *Authours* Reason why *Christs* Disciples should be so far from persecuting, that they ought to blesse them that curse them, and pray for them that persecute them, because of the *freenesse* of *Gods grace*, and the *deepenesse* of his *Councels*, calling them that are *Enemies*, *Persecutors*, *No people*, to become *meeke Lambes*, the *sheep* and *people* of *God*, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 20. You which were not a *people*, are now a *people*, &c. and *Matth.* 20. 6. Some come at the *last houre*, which if they were cut off because they came not *sooner*, would be prevented, and so should *never* come.

Unto this *Reason* the *Answerer* is pleased thus to reply:

First in generall; We must not doe *Evill*, that Good may come thereof.

Secondly, in particular, he affirmeth, "that it is *evill* to tolerate "*seditious evill doers*, *seducing Teachers*, *scandalous livers*: and for "proof of this he quotes *Christs* reproofe to the *Angel* of the *Church* "at *Pergamus*, for tolerating them that hold the *doctrine* of *Balaam*; "and against the *Church* of *Thiatyra*, for tolerating *Jesabel* to teach "and seduce, *Revel.* 2. 14. 20.

Toleration discussed. Upon this point hath Mr. John Goodwin excellently of late discoursed.

Truth. I answer, first, by assenting to the generall Propositon, that it is most true, like unto Christ Jesus himselfe, a sure *foundation*, 1 Cor. 3. Yet what is built upon it, I hope (by Gods assistance) to make

make it appeare is but *hay* and *ſtubble*, *dead* and *withered*, not ſuiting that *golden foundation*, nor pleaſing to the Father of *mercies*, nor *comfortable* to the Soules of men.

It is *evill* (ſaith he) to tolerate notorious evill doers, ſeducing Teachers, ſcandalous livers.

In which ſpeech I obſerve 2 evills:

Firſt that this *Propoſition* is too large and generall, becauſe the *Rule* admits of *exception*, and that according to the will of *God*.

1. It is true, that *Evill* cannot alter its nature, but it is alway *Evill*, as *darkneſſe* is alway *darkneſſe*, yet

2. It muſt be remembred, that it is one thing to *command*, to *conceale*, to *councell*, to *approve Evill*, and another thing to *permit* and *ſuffer Evill* with *proteſtation* againſt it, or *diſlike* of it, at leaſt without *approbation* of it. Evill is always Evill, yet permiſſion of it may in caſe be good.

Laſtly, this *ſufferance* or *permiſſion* of *Evill* is not for its own ſake, but for the ſake of *Good*, which puts a reſpect of *Goodneſſe* upon ſuch *permiſſion*.

Hence it is, that for *Gods* owne *Glorie* ſake (which is the higheſt Good) he endures, that is, *permits* or *ſuffers* the *Veſſels of Wrath*, *Rom.9.* And therefore although he be of pure eyes, and can behold no iniquitie, yet his pure eyes patiently and quietly beholds and permits all the *idolatries* and *prophanations*, all the *thefts* and *rapines*, all the *whoredomes* and *abominations*, all the *murthers* and *poyſonings*; and yet I ſay, for his *glory* ſake he is patient, and long permits. Gods wonderfull toleration.

Hence for his peoples ſake (which is the next Good in his Son) he is oftentimes pleaſed to permit and ſuffer the wicked to enjoy a longer *reprive*. Therefore he gave *Paul* all the *lives* that were in the ſhip, Acts 27.

Therefore he would not ſo ſoone have deſtroyed *Sodome*, but granted a longer *permiſſion*, had there been but 10 righteous, *Gen.19.* Therefore, *Jerem.5.* had he found ſome to have ſtood in the *gap*, he would have ſpared others. Therefore gave he *Jeſabel* a time or ſpace, *Revel.2.*

Therefore for his Glory ſake hath he permitted longer *great ſinners*, who afterward have periſhed in their ſeaſon, as we ſee in the caſe of *Ahab*, the *Ninevites* and *Amorites &c.*

Hence it pleaſed the *Lord* not onely to permit the many *evills* againſt his owne honourable ordinance of *Mariage* in the world, but was pleaſed after a wonderfull manner to ſuffer that ſin of many Deut.24.

wives in *Abraham, Jacob, David, Salomon*, yea with ſome expreſſion which ſeeme to give *approbation*, as 2 Sam. 12.

Peace. It may be ſaid, this is no *patterne* for us, becauſe *God* is above Law, and an abſolute *Soveraigne.*

Truth. I anſwer, although wee finde him ſometime diſpenſing with his Law, yet we never finde him deny himſelfe, or utter a *falſhood:* And therefore when it croſſeth not an abſolute *Rule* to *permit* and tolerate (as in the caſe of the permiſſion of the *ſoules* and *conſciences* of all men in the world, I have ſhewne and ſhall ſhew further it doth not) it will not hinder our being *holy* as hee is holy in all manner of converſation.

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. IT will yet bee ſaid, it pleaſeth *God* to permit Adulteries, Murthers, Poiſons: *God* ſuffers men like *fiſhes* to devoure each other, *Habac.* 1. the *wicked* to flouriſh, *Ier.* 12. yea ſends the Tyrants of the world to deſtroy the *Nations*, and *plunder* them of their riches, *Iſa.* 10. Should men doe ſo, the world would be a *Wilderneſſe*, and beſide we have command for *zealous execution* of Juſtice impartially, ſpeedily.

Two ſorts of commands both by *Moſes* and Chriſt.

Truth. I anſwer, we finde two ſorts of *commands* both from *Moſes* and from *Chriſt*, the two great Prophets and Meſſengers from the living *God*, the one the type or figure of the later: *Moſes* gave poſitive Rules both *ſpirituall* and *civill*, yet alſo hee gave ſome not *poſitive* but *permiſſive* for the common good: So the Lord *Ieſus* expoundeth it.

For, whereas the *Phariſes* urged it, that *Moſes* commanded to give a *Bill of Divorcement* and to put away: the *Lord Ieſus* expoundeth it, *Moſes* for the hardneſſe of your heart *ſuffered or permitted*, *Math.* 19. 17, 18.

Math 16. 17. 18.

The permiſſion of divorce in Iſrael.

This was a *permiſſive command* univerſall to all *Iſrael*, for a *generall good*, in preventing the continuall fires of Diſſentions & Combuſtions in families (yea it may be Murthers, Poyſons, Adulteries which that people (as the wiſedome of *God* foreſaw) was apt out of the *hardneſſe* of their *heart* to breake out into, were it not for this *preventing permiſſion.*

Hence it was that for a further *publike good* ſake, and the publike ſafety, *David* permitted *Ioab*, a notorious malefactor, and *Shimei* and

and *Adonijah*, &c. And *civill States* and *Governours* in like cases have and doe permit and suffer what neither *David* nor any *civill Governour* ought to doe or have done, were it not to prevent the hazard of the *whole*, in the shedding of much *innocent blood* (together with the *nocent*) in *civill combustions*.

Peace. It may be said, *Ioab*, *Shimei*, *Adonijah*, &c. were only (as it were) reprived for a time, and proves only that a season ought to be attended for their punishment.

Truth. *Answ.* I answer, I produce not these instances to prove a permission of Tares (Antichristians, Heretikes) which other Scriptures abundantly prove, but to make it cleare (against the *Answerers allegation*, that even in the *civill State* permission of notorious evill doers, even against the *civill State*, is not disapproved by *God* himselfe, and the wisest of his servants in its season.

CHAP. LV.

Truth. I Proceed. Hence it is that some Generals of Armies, and Governours of Cities, Townes, &c. doe, and (as those former instances prove) lawfully permit some evill persons and practices: As for instance, in the *civill State*, *Usury*, for the preventing of a *greater evill* in the *civill Body*, as *stealing*, *robbing*, *murthering*, *perishing* of the poore, and the hindrance or stop of *commerce* and dealing in the *Commonwealth*. Just like *Physicians*, wisely permitting noysome *humours*, and sometimes *diseases*, when the *cure* or *purging* would prove more dangerous to the *destruction* of the *whole*, a *weake* or *crazy* body, and specially at such a time.

Usurie in a Commonweale or Civill State lawfully permitted.

Thus in many other instances it pleased the *Father of lights*, the *God of Israel*, to permit that people, especially in the matter of their demand of a *King*, (wherein he pleaded that himselfe as well as *Samuel* was rejected.)

This *ground*, to wit, for a *common good* of the *whole*, is the same with that of the *Lord Iesus* commanding the *Tares* to be permitted in the *World*, because otherwise the *good wheat* should be indangered to be rooted up out of the *Field* or *World* also, as well as the Tares: and therefore for the good sake the Tares, which are indeed *evill*, were to be permitted: Yea and for the generall good of the *whole world*, the field it selfe, which for want of this obedience to that command of *Christ*, hath beene and is laid waste and desolate, with the fury

Permission of the Tares in the field of the world for a twofold good.
1. Of the good Wheat.
2. Of the whole world, the field it selfe.

and rage of *civill War*, professedly raised and maintained (as all States professe for the maintenance of one *true Religion* (after the patterne of that typicall land of *Canaan*) and to suppresse and pluck up these Tares of *false Prophets* and false Professors, *Antichristians*, *Heretickes*, &c. out of the world.

Hence *illæ lachrymæ*: hence *Germanies*, *Irelands*, and now *Englands* teares and dreadfull *desolations*, which ought to have beene, and may bee for the future (by obedience to the command of the *Lord Iesus*, concerning the permission of Tares to live in the *world*, though not in the *Church*) I say ought to have beene, and may be mercifully prevented.

CHAP. LVI.

Peace. I Pray descend now to the second *evill* which you observe in the *Answerers position*, *viz.* that it would bee *evill* to tolerate notorious *evill doers*, *seducing teachers*, &c.

Truth. I say, the *evill* is, that he most improperly and confusedly joynes and couples *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*.

Peace. But is it not true that the world is full of *seducing teachers*, and is it not true that *seducing teachers* are *notorious evill doers*?

Truth. I answer: far be it from me to deny either: and yet in two things I shall discover the great *evill* of this joyning and coupling *seducing teachers*, *and scandalous livers* as one adæquate or proper object of the Magistrates care and worke to suppresse and punish.

First, it is not an *Homogeneall* (as we speake) but an *Heterogeneall* commixture or joyning together of things most different in kindes and natures, as if they were both of one consideration.

Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient subjects to the Civill Lawes.

For who knowes not but that many *seducing teachers*, either of the *Paganish*, *Iewish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian* Religion, may be clear and free from *scandalous offences* in their life, as also from *disobedience* to the Civill Lawes of a State? Yea the *Answerer* himselfe hath elsewhere granted, that if the Lawes of a *Civill State* be not broken, the *Peace* is not broken.

Againe, who knowes not that a *seducing teacher* properly sinnes against a *Church* or Spirituall estate and Lawes of it, and therefore ought most properly and onely to bee dealt withall in such a way, and by such weapons as the *Lord Iesus* himselfe hath appointed

gain-

gainsayers, *opposites* and *disobedients* (either within his Church or without) to be *convinced*, *repelled*, *resisted*, and *slaine* withall.

Whereas *scandalous offendours* against *Parents*, against *Magistrates* in the 5 Command. and so against the *life*, *chastity*, *goods* or *good name* in the rest, is properly transgression against the Civill State and Commonweale, or the worldly state of Men: And therefore consequently if the World or Civill State ought to be preserved by *Civill Government* or *Governours*; such scandalous offendours ought not to be tolerated, but suppresst according to the wisdome and prudence of the said *Government*.

Scandalous livers against the Civill State who they are.

Secondly, as there is a fallacious conjoyning and confounding together persons of severall kindes and natures, differing as much as Spirit and Flesh, Heaven and Earth each from other. So is there a silent and implicite *justification* to all the unrighteous and *cruell proceedings* of *Jews* and *Gentiles* against all the Prophets of *God*, the *Lord Jesus* Himselfe, and all His Messengers and Witnesses, whom their Accusers have ever so coupled and mixed with notorious evill *doers* and *scandalous livers*.

Mr. *Cottons* tenent justifies all the cruell proceedings against Christ and christians.

Elijah was a *troubler* of the *State*; *Jeremy* weakned the hand of the people: yea *Moses* made the people neglect their worke: the *Jewes* built the Rebellious and bad City: the three Worthies regarded not the command of the King: *Christ Jesus* deceived the people, was a *conjurer* and a *traytor* against *Cæsar* in being King of the Jewes (indeed He was so spiritually over the true Jew the Christian) therefore He was numbred with *notorious evill doers*, and nailed to the Gallowes between two Malefactours.

Hence *Paul* and all true Messengers of *Jesus Christ* are esteemed seducing and seditious teachers and turners of the World upside downe: Yea and to my knowledge (I speake with honourable respect to the *Answerer*, so far as he hath laboured for many Truths of *Christ*) the *Answerer* himselfe hath drunke of this cup to be esteemed a *seducing Teacher*.

CHAP. LVII.

Peace. YEa but he produceth Scriptures against such *toleration*, and for *persecuting* men for the cause of *conscience*: "*Christ* "(saith he) had something against the *Angel* of the Church of "*Pergamus* for tolerating them that held the doctrine of *Balaam*, "and

"and against the Church of *Thiatira* for tolerating *Iesabel* to teach "and seduce, *Rev.*2.14.20.

Truth. I may answer with some admiration and astonishment how it pleased the *Father* of *lights*, and most jealous God to darken and vaile the eye of so pretious a man, as not to seek out and propose some Scriptures (in the proofe of so weighty an assertion) as at least might have some colour for an influence of the Civill Magistrate in such cases: for

Toleration. Rev.2.14.20. examined.

First, he saith not that Christ had ought against the City *Pergamus*, (where Sathan had his throne *Rev.*2.) but against the *Church* at *Pergamus*, in which was set up the Throne of Christ.

Secondly, Christs Charge is not against the Civill Magistrate of *Pergamus*, but the Messenger or Ministry of the Church in *Pergamus*.

Thirdly, I confesse so far as *Balaams* or *Iesabels* doctrine maintained a liberty of *corporall fornication*, it concerned the City of *Pergamus* and *Thiatira*, and the *Angel* or *Officers* of those Cities to suppresse not only such *practices*, but such *Doctrines* also, as the *Roman Emperour* justly punished *Ovid* the Poet, for teaching the wanton Art of Love, leading to and ushering on *lacivionsnesse* and *uncleannesse*.

4. Yet so far as *Balaams* teachers or *Iesabel* did seduce the members of the Church in *Pergamus* or *Thiatira*, to the worship of the *Idolaters* in *Pergamus* or *Thiatira* (which will appeare to be the case) I say so far I may well and properly answer, as himselfe answered before those Scriptures, brought from *Luc.*9. & 2 *Tim.* 2. to prove *patience* and *permission* to men opposite, *viz.* "These *Scriptures* "(saith he) are *directions* to *Ministers* of the Gospel, and in the "end of that passage he addes, Much lesse doe they speake at all to "*Civill Magistrates*.

Christ Ministers & Churches have power sufficient from *Christ* to suppresse *Balaam* and *Iesabel* seducing to false worship.

Fifthly, Either these *Churches* and the *Angels* thereof had power to suppresse these doctrines of *Balaam*, and to suppresse *Iesabel* from teaching, or they had not:

That they had not cannot be affirmed, for *Christs Authority* is in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, *Matth.* 16. & 18. & 1 *Cor.*5.

If they had *power*, as must be granted, then I conclude *sufficient power* to suppresse such persons, who ever they were that maintained *Balaams* doctrine in the Church at *Pergamus*, although the very

ry *Magistrates* themselves of the City of *Pergamus*, (if Christians) and to have suppressed *Iesabel* from teaching and seducing in the *Church* had she been *Lady*, *Queen*, or *Empresse*, if there were no more but teaching without hostility: And if so, all *power and authority* of *Magistrates* and *Governours* of *Pergamus* and *Thiatira*, and all submitting or appealing to them, in such cases, must needs fall as none of *Christs* appointment.

Lastly, From this perverse wresting of what is writ to the *Church* and the Officers thereof, as if it were written to the *Civill State* and Officers thereof; all may see how since the *Apostacie* of *Antichrist*, the *Christian World* (so called) hath swallowed up *Christianity*, how the *Church* and *civill State*, that is the *Church* and the *World* are now become one *flocke* of *Jesus Christ*; *Christs sheepe*, and the *Pastors* or *Shepherds* of them, all one with the severall unconverted, *wilde* or *tame* Beasts and Cattell of the *World* and the *civill* and earthly *governours* of them: The *Christian Church* or *Kingdome* of the Saints, that *stone* cut out of the *mountaine* without hands, *Daniel* 2. now made all one with the mountaine or Civill State, the *Roman Empire*, from whence it is cut or taken: *Christs lilies, garden* and *love*, all one with the *thornes*, the *daughers* and *wilderneſſe* of the *World*, out of which the *Spouse* or *Church* of *Christ* is called, and amongst whom in *civill things* for a while here below, she must necessarily be mingled and have converse, unless she will goe out of the *World* (before *Christ Jesus* her *Lord* and *Husband* send for her home into the Heavens, 1 Cor. 5. 10.)

The Christian world hath swallowed up Christianity.

CHAP. LVIII.

Peace. HAving thus (by the help of *Christ*) examined those *Scriptures* or writings of *truth*, brought by the Author against *Persecution*, and cleared them from such vailes & mists wherewith Mr. *Cotton* hath endeavored to obscure & darken their light: I pray you now (by the the same gracious assistance) proceed to his answer to the second head of Reasons from the profession of *famous Princes* against *persecution* for *conscience*, K. *James*, *Steven* of *Poland*, K. of *Bohemia*, unto whom the Answerer returneth a treble answer.

The second head of Reasons against such persecution, viz. the profession of famous Princes, K. James, Steven of Poland, and K. of Bohemia,

"First, saith he, We willingly acknowledge that none is to be "*persecuted* at all no more then they may be *oppressed* for *righteous-*"*nesse* sake.

" Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his " *conscience* though misinformed (as hath been said) unlesse his Er- " ror be *fundamentall* or *seditiously* and *turbulently* promoted, and " that after due *conviction* of his *conscience*, that it may appeare he is " not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning against his *con-* " *science*.

" Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *constrained* to be- " leeve or professe the true *Religion*, till he be convinced in judge- " ment of the *truth* of it, but yet *restrained* he may be from *blaspbe-* " *ming* the *truth*, and from seducing any unto *pernicious error*.

Truth. This first answer consists of a *repetition* and *enumeration* of such *grounds* or *conclusions*, as Mr. *Cotton* in the entrance of this Discourse laid downe, and I beleeve that (through the helpe of God) in such replies as I have made unto them, I have made it evident what weak *foundations* they have in the Scriptures of truth; as also that, when such *conclusions* (excepting the first) as *grasse*, and the *flower* of the *grasse* shall fade, that holy Word of the *Lord*, which the Author against such persecution produced, and I have cleared, shall stand for ever, even when these Heavens and Earth are burnt.

Isa. 40 6. 2 Pet. 3.

Peace. His second answer is this: " What Princes professe " and practice is not a *rule* of *conscience*: They many times tolerate " that in point of *State-politie*, which cannot justly be tolerated in " point of true Christianity.

" Againe, Princes many times tolerate offendours out of very " necessity, when the offenders are either too many or too mighty " for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his " murders, but against his will.

CHAP. LIX.

VNnto those excellent and famous speeches of those Princes worthy to be written in *golden letters* or *rows* of *Diamonds* upon all the gates of all the Cities and Palaces in the World, the Answerer (without any particular reply) returnes two things.

Truth. First, that Princes profession and practice is no rule of *conscience*: unto this as all men will subscribe, so may they also observe how the Answerer deales with Princes.

Mr. Cottons unequall dealing with Princes.

One while they are the nursing Fathers of the Church, not only to feed, but also to correct, and therefore consequently bound to judge,

judge what is true *feeding* and *correcting*: and consequently *all men* are bound to submit to their *feeding* and *correcting*.

Another while, when Princes crosse Mr. *Cottons* judgement and practice, then it matters not what the *profession* and *practice* of Princes is; for (saith he) their *profession* and *practice* is no Rule to *Conscience*.

I aske then, unto what *Magistrates* or *Princes* will themselves or any so perswaded submit, as unto *keepers* of both *Tables*, as unto the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and nursing *Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*?

First, will it not evidently follow, that by these Tenents they ought not to submit to any Magistrates in the world in these cases, but to Magistrates just of their owne *conscience*: and

Secondly, that all other *Consciences* in the world (except their owne) must be persecuted by such their Magistrates?

And lastly, is not this to make Magistrates but *steps* and *stirrops* to ascend and mount up into their *rich* and *honourable Seats* and *Sadales*; I meane great and setled maintenances, which neither the *Lord Jesus*, nor any of his first *Messengers*, the true *patternes*, did ever know?

CHAP. LX.

Truth. IN the second place hee saith that *Princes* out of *State policy* tolerate what suits not with *Christianity*, and out of State *necessity* tolerate (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wils.

To which I answer,

First, that although with him in the first I confesse that *Princes* may tolerate that out of *State policy* which will not stand with *Christianity*, yet in the second he must acknowledge with me, that there is a *necessity* sometime of *State Toleration*, as in the case of *Ioab*, and so his former *affirmation* generally laid downe [*viz.* that it is evill to tolerate *seducing Teachers*, or *scandalous livers*] was not duly waighed in the *Balance* of the *Sanctuary*, and is too light.

The Answerer acknowledgeth a necessity of some toleration.

Secondly, I affirme that that State policy and State necessity, which (for the *peace* of the *State* and preventing of Rivers of *civill Blood*) permits the *Consciences* of men, will bee found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *Politician* that ever the *World* saw, the *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, in comparison of whom

Christ Jesus the deepest politician that ever was, and yet he commands a toleration of Antichristians.

Salomon himselfe had but a *drop* of *wisedome*, compared to *Christs* Ocean, and was but a *Farthing Candle* compared with the *All* and *Ever glorious Son of Righteousnesse*.

That absolute Rule of this great *Politician* for the peace of the *Field*, which is the *World*, and for the good and peace of the *Saints*, who must have a *civill* being in the *World*, I have discoursed of in his *command* of *permitting* the *Tares*, that is, *Antichristians* or false *Christians* to be in the *Field* of the *World*, growing up together with the true *Wheat*, true *Christians*.

CHAP. LXI.

Peace. His third Answer is this:

"For those three *Princes* named by you who tole-
"rated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not
"tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pre-
"tence of Conscience, and their arrogating the *Crowne* of *Martyr-*
"*dome* to their sufferings.

"*Constantine* the Great at the request of the *Generall Councell* at
"*Nice*, banished *Arrius*, with some of his *Fellowes*, *Sozom. lib.* 1.
"*Eccles. hist. cap.* 19 20.

"The same *Constantine* made a severe Law against the *Donatists*:
"and the like proceedings against them were used by *Valentinian*,
"*Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reports in *Ep.* 166. Onely
"*Julian* the *Apostate* granted liberty to *Heretickes*, as well as to
"*Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all weeds to grow, choake
"the *vitals* of *Christianity*: which was also the practice and sinne
"of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

"*Queene Elizabeth*, as famous for her *Government* as most of the
"former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed a-
"gainst *Papists*: yea and *K. James* (one of your owne *Witnesses*)
"though he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you say) for
"Conscience sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and se-
"verely he punished those whom the *malignant* World calls *Puri-*
"*tans*, men of more *Conscience* and better *Faith* then the *Papists*
"whom he tolerated.

Truth. Unto this I answer: First, that for mine owne part I would not use an *argument* from the number of *Princes*, witnessing in profession of practice against *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*;

for

for the *truth* and *faith* of the *Lord Jesus* must not bee received with respect of *faces*, be they never so high, princely and glorious. The Princes of the world seldome take part with Christ.

Precious *Pearles* and *Jewels*, and farre more precious *Truth* are found in muddy shells and places. The rich *Mines* of *golden Truth* lye hid under *barren* hills, and in *obscure* holes and *corners*.

The most *High* and *Glorious God* hath chosen the *poore* of the *world*: and the *Witnesses* of *Truth* (Rev. 11.) are cloathed in *sack-cloth*, not in *Silke* or *Sattin*, *Cloth of Gold*, or *Tissue*: and therefore I acknowledge, if the number of *Princes* professing *persecution* bee considered, it is rare to finde a *King*, *Prince*, or *Governour* like *Christ Jesus* the *King* of *Kings*, and *Prince* of the *Princes* of the Earth, and who tread not in the steps of *Herod* the *Fox*, or *Nero* the *Lyon*, openly or secretly persecuting the name of the *Lord Jesus*; such were *Saul*, *Ieroboam*, *Ahab*, though under a maske or pretence of the name of the *God* of *Israel*. Princes not persecuting are very rare.

To that purpose was it a noble speech of *Buchanan*, who lying on his *death-bed* sent this *Item* to *King Iames*: Remember my humble service to his *Majestie*, and tell him that *Buchanan* is going to a place where few *Kings* come. *Buchanans* Item to King *Iames*.

CHAP. LXII.

Truth. SEcondly, I observe how inconsiderately (I hope not willingly) he passeth by the *Reasons* and *Grounds* urged by those three *Princes* for their practices; for as for the bare examples of *Kings* or *Princes*, they are but like *shining Sands*, or *guilded Rockes*, giving no solace to such as make wofull *shipwrack* on them.

In *K. Iames* his Speech he passeth by that *Golden Maxime* in *Divinity*, that *God* never loves to plant his *Church* by *Blood*. King *Iames* his sayings against persecution.

Secondly, that *Civill Obedience* may be performed from the *Papists*.

Thirdly, in his observation on *Revel* 20. that true and certaine note of a *false Church*, to wit, *persecution*: The wicked are *besiegers*, the *faithfull* are *besieged*.

In *K. Steven* of *Poland* his Speech, hee passeth by the true difference betweene a *Civill* and a *Spirituall Government*: I am (said *Steven*) a *Civill Magistrate* over the *bodies* of men, not a spirituall over their *soules*. King *Steven* of Poland his speech against Persecution.

Now to confound these, is *Babel*; and Jewish it is to seek for *Moses*, and bring him from his grave (which no man shall finde, for *God* buried him) in setting up a *Nationall state* or *Church* in a land of *Canaan*, which the great *Messiah* abolished at his comming.

Forcing of Conscience is a Soule rape.

Thirdly, he passeth by in the speech of the King of *Bohemia*, that *foundation* in *Grace* and *Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced: and indeed it it is most true, that a *Soule* or *spirituall Rape* is more abominable in *Gods* eye, then to force and ravish the Bodies of all the Women in the World.

Persecution for conscience, the Launcet that letteth blood Kings & Kingdomes.

Secondly, that most lamentably true *experience* of all Ages, which that *King* observeth, viz. that *persecution* for cause of Conscience hath ever proved pernicious, being the causes of all those wonderfull *innovations* of, or changes in the *Principalities* and mightiest *Kingdomes* of *Christendome*. He that reads the *Records* of *Truth* and *Time* with an impartiall eye, shall finde this to be the *Launcet* that hath pierc'd the veines of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, of *Saints* and *Sinners*, and fill'd the *streames* and *Rivers* with their *blood*.

All spirituall Whores are bloody.

Lastly, that Kings observation of his own time, viz. that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, was practised most in *England*, and such places where *Popery* raigned, implying (as I conceive) that such practises commonly proceed from that great *whore* the *Church of Rome*, whose *Daughters* are like their *Mother*, and all of a *bloody nature*, as most commonly all *Whores* be.

CHAP. LXIII.

NOw thirdly, in that the Answerer observeth, that amongst the *Romane Emperours*, they that did not persecute, were *Julian* the *Apostate*, and *Valens* the *Arrian*; whereas the good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, they did persecute the *Arrians*, *Donatists*, &c.

The Godly sometimes evill actors, and the Ungodly good actors.

Answ. It is no new thing for *godly* and eminently godly men, to performe *ungodly actions*: nor for *ungodly* persons, for wicked ends to act what in it selfe is *good* and righteous.

Polygamie, or the mary wives of the Fathers.

Abraham, *Iacob*, *David*, *Salomon*, &c. (as well as *Lamech*, *Saul*, &c.) lived in constant transgression against the *institution* of so holy and so ratified a *Law* of *Mariage*, &c. and this not against the *light* and checks of *conscience*, (as other sinnes are wont to be recorded of

of them) but according to the dictate and perſwaſion of a *Reſolved* Soule and *Conſcience*.

David out of *zeale* to *God*, with 30 thouſand of *Iſrael*, and Majeſticall *ſolemnity*, carries up the *Arke*, contrary to the *Order* God was pleaſed to appoint: the iſſue was both *Gods* and *Davids* great offence. 2 *Sam.* 6.

Davids advancing of Gods Worſhip againſt Gods Order.

David in his zeale would build an *houſe* to entertaine his *God*: what more pious? and what more (in ſhew) ſeriouſly conſulted, when the Prophet *Nathan* is admitted Councellour? 2 *Sam.* 7.

And probable it is, that his ſlaughter of *Uriiah* was not without a good *end*, to wit, to prevent the diſhonour of *Gods* name, in the diſcoverie of his Adulterie with *Bathſheba*: yet *David* was holy and precious to *God* ſtill, (though like a *jewell* fallen into the dirt) whereas K. *Ahab*, though acting his faſting & *humiliation*, was but *Ahab* ſtill, though his Act (in it ſelfe) was a *duty*, and found ſucceſſe with *God*.

CHAP. LXIV.

Peace. I Have often heard that *Hiſterie* reports, and I have heard that Mr. *Cotton* himſelfe hath affirmed it, that *Chriſtianitie* fell aſleep in *Conſtantines* boſome, and the laps and boſomes of thoſe Emperours profeſſing the name of *Chriſt*.

Truth. The unknowing zeale of *Conſtantine* and other Emperours, did more hurt to *Chriſt Ieſus* his Crowne and Kingdome, then the raging fury of the moſt bloody *Neroes*. In the *perſecutions* of the later, *Chriſtians* were ſweet and fragrant, like ſpice pounded and beaten in morters: But thoſe *good* Emperours, perſecuting ſome erroneous perſons, *Arrius*, *&c.* and advancing the profeſſours of ſome Truths of Chriſt (for there was no ſmall number of *Truths* loſt in thoſe times) and maintaining their *Religion* by the materiall Sword, I ſay by this meanes *Chriſtianity* was *eccliſpſed*, and the Profeſſors of it fell aſleep, *Cant.* 5. *Babel* or *confuſion* was uſher'd in, and by degrees the *Gardens* of the *Churches* of *Saints* were turned into the *wilderneſſe* of whole *Nations*, untill the *whole World* became *Chriſtian* or *Chriſtendome*, *Revel.* 12. & 13.

Conſtantine and the good Emperours are confeſt to have done more hurt to the name and crown of the Lord Jeſus, then the perſecuting Neroes &c.

The Garden of the Church and Field of the World made all one by Antichriſtiſtianiſme.

Doubtleſſe thoſe holy men, *Emperours* and *Biſhops*, intended and aimed right, to exalt *Chriſt*: but not attending to the Command of *Chriſt Ieſus*, to permit the *Tares* to grow in the *field* of the *World*, they,

they made the *Garden* of the *Church*, and *Field* of the *World* to be all one; and might not onely sometimes in their zealous mistakes persecute *good wheat* in stead of *Tares*, but also pluck up thousands of those precious *stalkes* by *commotions* and *combustions* about *Religion*, as hath been since practised in the great and wonderfull changes wrought by such *Wars* in many great and mighty States and Kingdomes, as we heard even now in the Observation of the *King* of *Bohemia*.

CHAP. LXV.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, before you leave this passage concerning the *Emperours*, I shall desire you to glance your eye on this not unworthy observation, to wit, how fully this worthy *Answerer* hath learned to speake the roaring *language* of *Lyon-like Persecution*, far from the *purity* and *peaceablenesse* of the *Lambe*, which he was wont to expresse in *England*. For thus he writes:

"More and greater *Princes* then these you mention (saith he) "have not tolerated *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, notwithstanding "their pretence of Conscience, and their arrogating the Crown "of Martyrdome to their suff ings.

Truth. Thy tender *eare* and *heart* (sweet *Peace*) endures not such *language*: 'Tis true, that these termes, *Hereticks* (or wilfully obstinate) and *Schismaticks* (or Renders) are used in Holy Writ: 'tis true also, that such pretend *conscience*, and challenge the *crown* of *Martyrdome* to their *suffrings*: Yet since (as King *Iames* spake in his [Marke of a false Church] on *Revel.* 20.) the Wicked persecute and besiege, and the Godly are persecuted and besieged; this is the common clamour of *Persecuters* against the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of *Iesus* in all Ages, *viz.* You are *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *factious*, *seditious*, *rebellious*. Have not all *Truths witnesses* heard such reproaches? You pretend *conscience*; You say you are persecuted for *Religion*; You will say you are *Martyrs*?

The language of Persecuters, the wolves and hunters of the World.

Oh it is hard for *Gods children* to fall to *opinion* and *practice* of *Persecution*, without the ready learning the *language* thereof: And doubtlesse, that Soule that can so readily speake *Babels* language, hath cause to fear that he hath not yet in point of Worship left the Gates or Suburbs of it.

Peace. Againe, in blaming *Iulian* and *Valens* the *Arrian*, for tolerating

"lerating all *weeds* to grow, he notes their ſinfull end, that thereby "they might choake the *vitals* of *Chriſtianity*; and ſeemes to con- "ſent (in this and other paſſages foregoing and following on a "ſpeech of *Jerome*) that the weeds of *falſe Religions* tolerated in "the world, have a power to choake and kill true Chriſtianity in "the Church.

Truth. I ſhall more fully anſwer to this on *Jeromes* ſpeech, and ſhew that if the weeds be kept out of the *Garden* of the *Church*, the Roſes and Lilies therein will flouriſh, notwithſtanding that weeds abound in the *Field* of the *Civill State*. When *Chriſtianity* began to be choaked, it was not when *Chriſtians* lodged in cold *Priſons*, but Downe beds of *eaſe*, and perſecuted others, &c.

Chriſts Lilies may flouriſh in his Church, notwithſtanding the abundance of weeds (in the world) permitted.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. HE ends this paſſage with approbation of *Q. Elizabeth* for perſecuting the *Papiſts*, and a *reproofe* to *King James* for his perſecuting the *Puritans*, &c.

Truth. I anſwer, if *Queene Elizabeth* according to the *Anſwerers Tenent* and Conſcience, did well to perſecute according to her conſcience, *King James* did not ill in perſecuting according to his: For Mr. *Cotton* muſt grant, that either *King James* was not fit to be a King, had not the eſſentiall *qualificatsons* of a *King*, in not being able rightly to judge who ought to be perſecuted, and who not, or elſe he muſt confeſſe that *King James* and all *Magiſtrates* muſt perſecute ſuch whom in their *Conſcience* they judge worthy to be perſecuted.

The perſecution of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Iames* compared together.

I ſay it againe (though I neither approve Queen *Elizabeth* or K. *James* in ſuch their perſecutions, yet) ſuch as hold this Tenent of perſecuting for *Conſcience*, muſt alſo hold that *Civill Magiſtrates* are not eſſentially fitted and qualified for their function and office, except they can diſcerne clearly the difference betweene ſuch as are to be puniſhed and perſecuted, and ſuch as are not.

Or elſe if they be eſſentially qualified, without ſuch a religious ſpirit of diſcerning, and yet muſt perſecute the *Heretieke*, the *Schiſmatieke*, &c. muſt they not perſecute according to their conſcience and perſwaſion. And then doubtleſſe (though he bee excellent for *Civill Government*) may he eaſily, as *Paul* did ignorantly, perſecute the *Son* of *God*, in ſtead of the *Son* of *perdition*.

Therefore (lastly) according to *Christ Jesus* his command, *Magistrates* are bound not to persecute, and to see that none of their subjects be persecuted and oppressed for their *conscience* and *worship*, being otherwise subject and peaceable in Civill Obedience.

CHAP. LXVII.

IN the second place I answer and aske, what *glory* to *God* what *good* to the *soules* or *bodies* of their *subjects* shall *Princes*, did these Princes bring in persecuting? &c.

In his opening of the 7. Viols, in print, Mr. *Cotton* confesseth that Queen *Elizabeth* her persecuting the Papists, had almost ruined the English Nation.

Peace. Mr. *Cotton* tells us in his discourse upon the third *Viol*, that *Queene Elizabeth* had almost *fired* the *world* in *civill combustions* by such her persecuting: "For, though hee bring it in to another "end, yet he confesseth that it raised all *Christendome* in *combustion*, "raised the Warres of 88. and the *Spanish Invasion*: and he addes "(both concerning the *English* Nation and the *Dutch*) that if *God* "had not born witnesse to his people, and their *Laws*, in defeating "the *intendments* of their *enemies* against both the *Nations*, it might "have beene the *ruine* of them both.

Truth. That those *Lawes* and *Practices* of Queene *Elizabeth* raised those *combustions* in *Christendome* I deny not: That they might likely have cost the *ruine* of *English* and *Dutch* I grant.

The Wars betweene the Papists and the Protestants.

That it was *Gods* gracious worke in defeating the *Intendments* of their *enemies* I thankfully acknowledge. But that *God* bore witnesse to such *persecutions* and *lawes* for such *persecutions* I deny, for

First, *event* and *successe* come alike to *all*, and are no *Arguments* of *love* or *hatred*, &c.

Secondly, the *Papists* in their warres have ever yet had both in *Peace* and *War victory* and *dominion*; and therefore (if successe be the measure) *God* hath borne witnesse unto them.

It is most true what *Daniel* in his 8. and 11. and 12. Chapters, and *John* in his *Revel.* 11. 12. and 13. Chapters write of the great successe of *Antichrist* against *Christ Iesus* for a time appointed.

Eventus omnis haud interitus.

Successe was various betweene *Charles* the fift and some *German Princes*: *Philip* of *Spaine* and the *Low Countries*: The *French King* and his Protestant Subjects, sometimes losing, sometimes winning, interchangeably.

But most memorable is the famous history of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses*, those famous *Witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*, who rising from *Waldo*

Waldo at *Lyons* in *France* (1160.) spread over *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and almost all *Countries*, into thousands and ten thousands, making *separation* from the *Pope* and *Church* of *Rome*. These fought many *Battels* with various successe, and had the assistance and protection of divers great *Princes* against three succeeding *Popes* and their *Armies*, but after mutuall *slaughters* and miseries to both sides, the finall *successe* of *victory* fell to the *Popedome* and *Romish Church* in the utter extirpation of those famous *Waldensian witnesses*.

The wars and successe of the Waldensian witnesses against three Popes and their popish Armies.

Gods servants are all *overcommers* when they war with *Gods* weapons in *Gods cause* and *Worship*: and *Revel.* 2. and 3. Chapters, seven times is it recorded, To him that *overcommeth* in *Ephesus*, To him that *overcommeth* in *Sardis*, &c. and *Revel.* 12. *Gods* servants overcame the *Dragon* or *Devill* in the *Romane Emperours* by three weapons, The *blood* of the *Lambe*, The *word* of their *Testimony*, and The not loving of their *lives* unto the *death*.

Gods people victorious overcommers, and with what weapons.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Peace. THe *Answerer* in the next place descends to the third and last *Head* of *Arguments* produced by the *Authour*, taken from the *judgement* of *ancient* and later *Writers*, yea even of the *Papists* themselves, who have condemned *persecution* for *conscience* sake: some of which the *Answerer* pleaseth to answer, and thus writeth.

The third head of Arguments from ancient and later writers.

"You begin with *Hilarie*, whose *testimony* without *prejudice* to "the *Truth* we may admit: For it is true, the *Christian Church* doth "not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*.

The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

"But to *excommunicate* an *Hereticke* is not to *persecute*, that is, it "is not to punish an *innocent*, but a *culpable* and *damnable* person, "and that not for *conscience*, but for persisting in *errour* against light "of *conscience*, whereof he hath beene convinced.

Truth. In this *Answer* here are two things.

First, his *confession* of the same *Truth* affirmed by *Hilarius*, to wit, that the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*: suting with that foregoing *observation* of *King Iames* from *Rev.* 20.

Peace. Yet to this he addes a *colour* thus: which, saith he, wee may admit without prejudice to the *truth*.

Truth. I answer, If it bee a *marke* of the *Christian Church* to bee *persecuted*, and of the *Antichristian* or false *Church* to persecute, then those *Churches* cannot be truly *Christian* (according to the first *institution*)

Persecuting Churches cannot be Christs Churches.

ſtitution) which either *actually* themſelves, or by the *Civill* power of *Kings* and Princes given to them (or procured by them to fight for them) doe *perſecute* ſuch as diſſent from them or be oppoſite againſt them.

Peace. Yea, but in the ſecond place he addeth, that to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, is not to *perſecute*, but to puniſh him for ſinning againſt the light of his own *conſcience*, &c.

Truth. I anſwer, if this worthy *Anſwerer* were throughly awaked from the *Spouſes* ſpirituall *ſlumber*, (*Cant.*5.) and had recovered from the *drunkenneſſe* of the *great whore*, who intoxicateth the *Nations*, Revel.17. It is impoſſible that he ſhould ſo anſwer: for

The nature of excommunication.

Firſt, who queſtioneth, whether to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, (that is, an *obſtinate Gainſayer*) as we have opened the word upon *Tit.*3.) I ſay, who queſtioneth whether that be to *perſecute*? *Excommunication* being of a *ſpirituall nature*, a *Sentence* denounced by the *Word* of *Chriſt Jeſus* the Spirituall *King* of his *Church*; and a Spirituall *killing* by the moſt ſharpe two-edged Sword of the Spirit, in delivering up the perſon excommunicate to *Sathan*. Therefore who ſees not that his *Anſwer* comes not neere our *Queſtion*?

Peace. In the *Anſwerers* ſecond *concluſion* (in the entrance of this Diſcourſe) he proves *perſecution* againſt an *Heretick* for ſinning againſt his *conſcience*, and quotes *Tit.*3 10. which only proves (as I have there made it evident) a Spirituall *rejecting* or *excommunicating* from the *Church* of God, and ſo comes not neer the queſtion.

Here again he would prove *Churches* charged to be falſe, becauſe they perſecute: I ſay he would prove them not to be falſe, becauſe they perſecute not: for, ſaith he, *Excommunication* is not *Perſecution*. Whereas the *Queſtion* is (as the whole *diſcourſe*, and *Hilaries* own amplification of the matter in this ſpeech, and the *practice* of all Ages teſtifies) whether it be not a falſe *Church* that doth perſecute other *Churches* or *Members* (oppoſing her in Spirituall and Church matters) not by Excommunications, but by *impriſonments*, *ſtocking*, *whipping*, *fining*, *baniſhing*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. notwithſtanding that ſuch perſons in *Civill obedience* and ſubjection are unreproveable.

What perſecution or hunting is.

Truth. I conclude this paſſage with *Hilarius* and the *Anſwerer*, That the *Chriſtian Church* doth not *perſecute*; no more then a *Lilie* doth ſcratch the *Thornes*, or a *Lambe* purſue and teare the *wolves*, or a *Turtle dove* hunt the *Hawkes* and *Eagles*, or a *chaſte and modeſt*

Chriſts Spouſe no ſcratcher or fighter.

Virgin

Virgin fight and ſcratch like *whores* and *harlots*.

And for puniſhing the *Heretick* for ſinning againſt his *conſcience* after *conviction*, which in the ſecond *concluſion* he affirmeth to be by a *civill ſword* I have at large there anſwered.

CHAP. LXIX.

Peace. IN the next place he ſelecteth one paſſage out of *Hilarie*, (although there are many golden paſſages there expreſt againſt the uſe of *Civill* Earthly Powers in the Affaires of *Chriſt*.) The paſſage is this:

"It is true alſo what he ſaith that neither the *Apoſtles* nor We "may propogate *Chriſtian Religion* by the *Sword*: but if *Pagans* "cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the "*Sword*: Neverthe eſſe this hindreth not (ſaith he) but if they or "any other ſhould *blaſpheme* the true *God* and his true *Religion*, they "ought to be ſeverely puniſhed: and no leſſe doe they deſerve, if "they *ſeduce* from the *Truth* to damnable *Hereſie* or *Idolatrie*.

Who cannot be won by the Word, muſt not be compelled by the Sword.

Truth. In which Anſwer I obſerve, firſt his Agreement with *Hilarie*, that the *Chriſtian Religion* may not be propagated by the *Civill Sword*.

Unto which I reply, and aske then what meanes this paſſage in his firſt anſwer to the former ſpeeches of the *Kings*, viz. "We ac- "knowledge that none is to be *conſtrained* to beleeve or profeſſe "the *true Religion*, till he be convinced in judgement of the Truth "of it: implying 2 things.

Firſt, that the *Civill Magiſtrate*, who is to conſtraine with the *Civill Sword*, muſt judge all the *Conſciences* of their Subjects, whether they be convinced or no.

Secondly, when the *Civill Magiſtrate* diſcerns that his Subjects *conſciences* are convinced, then he may conſtraine them *vi & armis*, hoſtily.

And accordingly, the *Civill State* and *Magiſtracie* judging in *ſpirituall things*, who knowes not what *conſtraint* lies upon all *conſciences* in *Old* and *New England*, to come to *Church*, and pay *Church duties*, which is upon the point (though with a *ſword* of a finer gilt and trim in *New England*) nothing elſe but that which he confeſſeth *Hilarie* ſaith true, ſhould not be done, to wit, a *propagation* of *Religion* by the *Sword*.

Conſtraint upon Conſciences in Old and New England.

Againe, although he confesseth that *propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *sword*: yet he maintaineth the use of the *sword*, when persons (in the *judgement* of the *Civill State*, for that is implied) *blaspheme* the true *God*, and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable *Heresie* and *Idolatrie*. Which because he barely affirmeth in this place, I shall defer my Answer unto the after *Reasons* of Mr *Cotton* and the Elders of New English Churches; where Scriptures are alleadged, and in that place (by *Gods* assistance) they shall be examined and answered.

CHAP. LXX.

Tertullian his speech discussed.

Peace. THe *Answerer* thus proceeds: "Your next *Writer* is "*Tertullian*, who speaketh to the same purpose in the "place alleadged by you. His intent is only to restraine *Scapula* "the Roman Governour of *Africa*, from persecuting the *Christi-*"*ans*, for not offering *sacrifice* to their *Gods*: and for that end, "fetcheth an *Argument* from the Law of *Naturall equity*, not to "compell any to any *Religion*, but *permit* them to believe or not "to believe at all.

"Which we acknowledge; and accordingly we judge, the "English may *permit* the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeliefe*: ne-"vertheless it will not therefore be lawfull to *tolerate* the *worship* "of *Devils* or *Idols*, to the seduction of any from the *Truth*.

Truth. Answ. In this passage he agrees with *Tertullian*, and gives instance in *America* of the English permitting the Indians to continue in their *unbeleefe*: yet withall he affirmeth it not lawfull to tolerate *worshipping* of *Devils*, or *seduction* from the *Truth*.

The Indians of New England permitted by the English not only to continue in their unbeleef (which they cannot cure) but also in their false worship which they might by the civil sword restraine.

I answer, that in *New England* it is well known that they not onely *permit* the *Indians* to continue in their unbeliefe, (which neither they, nor all the *Ministers* of *Christ* on *Earth*, nor *Angels* in *Heaven* can helpe, not being able to worke beleefe) but they also permit or tolerate them in their *Paganish worship*, which cannot be denied to be a *worshipping* of *Devils*, as all false Worship is.

And therefore consequently according to the same practice, did they walke by *Rule* and *impartially*, not onely the *Indians*, but their *Countrymen*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, &c. should also be permitted in their *Worships*, if correspondent in *civill obedience*.

Peace.

Peace. He addes further, when *Tertullian* ſaith, That another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; It muſt be underſtood of *private worſhip* and *Religion* profeſſed in private: otherwiſe a falſe Religion profeſſed by the members of the *Church*, or by ſuch as have given their *names* to *Chriſt*, will be the *ruine* and *deſolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Chriſt* to the Churches, *Revel.* 2.

Truth. I anſwer (paſſing by that unſound *diſtinction* of *members* of the *Church*, or thoſe that have given their *Names* to *Chriſt*, which in point of viſible *profeſſion* and *Worſhip* will appeare to be all one) it is plaine,

Firſt, that *Tertullian* doth not there ſpeake of private, but of publike Worſhip and Religion.

Secondly, Although it be true in a *Church* of *Chriſt*, that a falſe *Religion* or *Worſhip* permitted, will hurt, according to thoſe threats of *Chriſt*, Revel. 2. Yet in 2 caſes I believe a falſe *Religion* will not hurt (which is moſt like to have been *Tertullians* meaning)

In 2 caſes a falſe Religion will not hurt the true Church, or the State.

Firſt, a falſe *Religion* out of the *Church* will not hurt the *Church*, no more then *weedes* in the *Wilderneſſe* hurt the incloſed *Garden*, or *poyſon* hurt the *body* when it is not touched or taken, yea and *antidotes* are received againſt it.

Secondly, a falſe *Religion* and *Worſhip* will not hurt the *Civill State*, in caſe the *worſhippers* breake no *civill Law*: and the *Anſwerer* (elſwhere) acknowledgeth, that the *civill Lawes* not being broken, *civill Peace* is not broken: and this only is the Point in Queſtion.

CHAP. LXXI.

Peace. YOur next Authour (ſaith he) *Jerome*, croſſeth not the "Truth, nor advantageth your Cauſe; for we grant what "he ſaith, that Hereſie muſt be cut off with the ſword of the Spirit: "but this hinders not, but being ſo cut down, if the Heretick will "perſiſt in his Hereſie, to the ſeduction of others, he may be cut "off alſo by the Civill Sword, to prevent the perdition of others. "And that to be *Jeromes* meaning, appeareth by his note upon that "of the Apoſtle, [A little Leaven leaveneth the whole lumpe] "Therefore (ſaith he) a ſparke as ſoon as it appeareth, is to be ex-"tinguiſhed, and the leaven to be removed from the reſt of the "dough;

The ſeducing or infecting of others diſcuſſed.

"dough; Rotten pieces of flesh are to be cut off, and a scabbed "beast is to be driven from the sheepfold; lest the whole House, "Body, masse of Dough, and Flock, be set on fire with the sparke, "be putrified with the rotten flesh, sowred with the leaven, perish "by the scabbed beast.

The Answerer trusteth not to the sword of the Spirit only in Spirituall causes.

Truth. I answer, first, he granteth to *Tertullian*, that *Heresie* must be cut off with the *sword* of the *Spirit*: yet withall he maintaineth a cutting off by a second Sword, the *sword* of the *Magistrate*; and conceiveth that *Tertullian* so meanes, because he quoteth that of the Apostle, *A little leaven leaveneth the whole lumpe.*

Answ. It is no Argument to prove that *Tertullian* meant a *civill sword*, by alleadging 1 Cor. 5. or Gal. 5. which properly and only approve a cutting off by the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the *Church*, and the purging out of the *leaven* in the *Church* in the Cities of Corinth and Galatia.

And if *Tertullian* should so meane as himselfe doth, yet

The absolute sufficiencie of the sword of the Spirit.

First, that grant of his, that *Heresie* must be cut off with the sword of the *Spirit*, implies an absolute sufficiencie in the *sword* of the *Spirit* to cut it down, according to that mighty operation of Spirituall *weapons*, (2 Cor. 10. 4.) powerfully sufficient either to convert the Heretick to God, and subdue his very thoughts into subjection to *Christ*, or else spiritually to slay and execute him.

Secondly, it is cleare to be the meaning of the *Apostle*, and of the Spirit of *God*, not there to speake to the *Church* in *Corinth* or *Galatia*, or any other *Church*, concerning any other *dough*, or *house*, or *body*, or *flock*, but the *dough*, the *body*, the *house*, the *flock* of *Christ* his *Church*: Out of which such *sparks*, such *leaven*, such *rotten flesh* and *scabbed sheep* are to be avoided.

The Church of Christ to be kept pure.

Nor could the eye of this worthy *Answerer* ever be so obscured, as to run to a *Smiths* shop for a Sword of *iron* and *steale* to helpe the Sword of the *Spirit*, if the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse* had once been pleased to shew him, that a *Nationall Church* (which elsewhere he professeth against) a *state Church* (whether *explicite*, as in *Old England*, or *implicite*, as in *New*) is not the *Institution* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

A Nationall Church not instituted by Christ Jesus.

The *Nationall typicall State-Church* of the *Jewes* necessarily called for such weapons: but the *particular Churches* of *Christ* in all parts of the World, consisting of *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, is powerfully able by the *sword* of the Spirit to *defend* it selfe, and *offend* Men or Devils, although the *State* or *Kingdome* (wherein such a *Church* or *Churches* of

The nationall Church of the Jewes.

of *Christ* are gathered) have neither carnall *speare* nor *sword*, &c. as once it was in the *National Church* of the *Land* of *Canaan*. 1 Sam. 13.

CHAP. LXXII.

Peace. *Brentius* (whom you next quote, saith he) speaketh not to your cause. Wee willingly grant you, that man hath no *power* to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, but this hinders not, but men may see the *Lawes* of God observed which doe binde *conscience*.

Man hath no power to make lawes to binde conscience.

Truth. I answer, In granting with *Brentius* that man hath not power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, hee overthrowes such his *tenent* and *practice* as *restraine* men from their *Worship*, according to their Conscience and beleefe, and constraine them to such *worships* (though it bee out of a pretence that they are convinced) which their owne *soules* tell them they have no *satisfaction* nor *faith* in.

Secondly, whereas he affirmeth that men may make *Lawes* to see the *Lawes* of *God* observed.

I answer, as *God* needeth not the helpe of a materiall *sword* of *steele* to assist the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the affaires of *conscience*, so those men, those *Magistrates*, yea that *Commonwealth* which makes such *Magistrates*, must needs have power and authority from *Christ Jesus* to sit *Judge* and to determine in all the great controversies concerning *doctrine*, *discipline*, *government*, &c.

And then I aske, whether upon this ground it must not evidently follow, that

Desperate consequences unavoidable.

Either there is no lawfull *Commonwealth* nor *civill State* of men in the world, which is not qualified with this spirituall *discerning*: (and then also that the very *Commonweale* hath more *light* concerning the *Church* of *Christ*, then the *Church* it selfe.)

Or, that the *Commonweale* and *Magistrates* thereof must judge and punish as they are perswaded in their owne *beleefe* and *conscience*, (be their *conscience Paganish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian*) what is this but to confound *Heaven* and *Earth* together, and not onely to take away the *being* of *Christianity* out of the World, but to take away all *civility*, and the *world* out of the *world*, and to lay all upon heapes of *confusion*?

CHAP. LXXIII.

Luthers testimony in this case discussed.

Peace. THe like answer (saith he) may bee returned to *Luther*, whom you next alledge.

First, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*, and therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *soules* and *consciences* of men.

Secondly, that the *Church* of *Christ* doth not use the Arme of *secular* power to compell men to the true profession of the *truth*, for this is to be done with *spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be exhorted, not compelled. "But this (saith hee) hindreth not "that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, may "justly be censured by the *Church* with *excommunication*, and by "the *civill sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdi-"tion of their soules.

Truth. I answer, in this joynt *confession* of the *Answerer* with *Luther*, to wit, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*: who sees not what a cleare *testimony* from his own mouth and pen is given, to wit, that either the *Spirituall* and *Church* estate, the preaching of the *Word*, and the gathering of the *Church*, the *Baptisme* of it, the *Ministry*, *Government* and *Administrations* thereof belong to the *civill body* of the *Commonweale*? that is, to the *bodies* and *goods* of men, which seemes monstrous to imagine: Or else that the *civill Magistrate* cannot (without exceeding the bounds of his office) meddle with those spirituall affaires.

Mr. Cottons positions evidently proved contradictory to themselves.

Againe, necessarily must it follow, that these two are contradictory to themselves: to wit,

The *Magistrates* power extends no further then the *bodies* and *goods* of the subject, and yet

The *Magistrate* must punish *Christians* for sinning against the *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, and for *corrupting* the *soules* of men.

The Father of *Lights* make this worthy *Answerer* and all that feare him to see their wandring in this case, not only from his *feare*, but also from the light of *Reason* it selfe, their owne *convictions* and *confessions*.

Secondly, in his joint confession with *Luther*, that the *Church* doth

doth not use the secular power to compell men to the Faith and Profession of the *truth*, he condemneth (as before I have observed)

First, his former *Implication*, *viz.* that they may bee compelled when they are convinced of the *truth* of it.

Secondly, their owne practice, who suffer no man of any different *conscience* and *worship* to live in their jurisdiction, except that he depart from his owne *exercise* of *Religion* and *Worship* differing from the *worship* allowed of in the *civill State*, yea and also actually submit to come to their *Church*.

Which howsoever it is coloured over with this varnish, *viz.* that men are *compelled* no further then unto the hearing of the *Word*, unto which all men are bound: yet it will appeare that *teaching* and being taught in a *Church* estate is a *Church* worship, as true and proper a *Church worship* as the Supper of the Lord, *Act.* 2. 46. Hearing of the Word of God in a Church estate a part of Gods worship.

Secondly, all persons (*Papist* and *Protestant*) that are conscientious, have alwayes suffered upon this ground especially, that they have refused to come to each *others* Church or *Meeting*.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Peace. THe next passage in the *Author* which the *Answerer* descends unto, is the *testimony* of the *Papists* themselves, a lively and shining testimony from Scriptures alledged both against themselves and all that associate with them (as *power* is in their hand) in such *unchristian* and bloody both *tenents* and *practices*. Papists plea for toleration of conscience.

"As for the *testimony* of the *Popish* booke (saith he) we weigh it "not, as knowing what ever they speake for *toleration* of *Religion*, "where themselves are under *Hatches*, when they come to sit at "*Stern* they judge and *practise* quite contrary, as both their *writings* "and *judiciall proceedings* have testified to the *world* these many "yeares.

Truth. I answer, although both *writings* and *practices* have been such, yet the *Scriptures* and *expressions* of *truth* alledged and uttered by them, speake loud and fully for them when they are under the *Hatches*, that for their *conscience* and *religion* they should not there be choaked and smothered, but suffered to breathe and walke upon the *Deckes* in the ayre of *civill liberty* and *conversation* in the Ship of the *commonwealth*, upon good assurance given of *civill obedience* to the *civill State*.

The Proteſtants partiall in the caſe of perſecution.

Againe, if this practice bee ſo abominable in his eyes from the *Papiſts*, *viz.* that they are ſo partiall as to perſecute when they ſit at *Helme*, and yet cry out againſt *perſecution* when they are under the *Hatches*, I ſhall beſeech the Righteous Judge of the whole *world* to preſent as in a Water or Glaſſe (where face anſwereth to face) the faces of the *Papiſt* to the *Proteſtant*, anſwering to each other in the *ſameneſſe* of *partiality*, both of this doctrine and practice.

When Mr. *Cotton* and others have formerly been under *hatches*, what ſad and true complaints have they abundantly powred forth againſt *perſecution*? How have they opened that heavenly Scripture, *Cant* 4 8. Where *Chriſt Jeſus* calls his tender *Wife* and Spouſe from the fellowſhip with *perſecutors* in their *dens* of *Lions*, and mountaines of *Leopards*?

But comming to the Helme (as he ſpeaks of the *Papiſts*) how, both by *preaching*, *writing*, *Printing*, *practice*, doe they themſelves (I hope in their perſons *Lambes*) unnaturally and partially expreſſe toward others, the cruell nature of ſuch *Lions* and *Leopards*?

A falſe ballance in Gods matters abominable to God.

O that the *God* of Heaven might pleaſe to tell them how abominable in his eyes are a *waight* and a *waight*, a *ſtone* and a *ſtone* in the bag of *waights*! one waight for themſelves when they are under Hatches, and another for others when they come to *Helme*.

Nor ſhall their confidence of their being in the *truth* (which they judge the *Papiſts* and *others* are not in) no nor the *Truth* it ſelfe priviledge them to *perſecute* others, and to exempt themſelves from *perſecution*, becauſe (as formerly.)

Sheep cannot hunt, no nor the wolves.

Firſt, it is againſt the nature of true *Sheep* to perſecute or hunt the *Beaſts* of the *Forreſt*, no not the ſame *Wolves* who formerly have perſecuted themſelves.

Secondly, if it be a duty and charge upon all *Magiſtrates* in all parts of the *World* to judge and perſecute in and for ſpirituall cauſes, then either they are no *Magiſtrates* who are not able to judge in ſuch caſes, or elſe they muſt judge according to their *Conſciences*, whether *Pagan*, *Turkiſh* or *Antichriſtian*.

Pills to purge out the ſpirit of perſecution.

Laſtly, notwithſtanding their confidence of the *truth* of their owne way, yet the experience of our *Fathers errours*, our owne *miſtakes* and *ignorance*, the ſenſe of our own *weakneſſes* and *blindneſſe* in the depths of the *propheſies* & *myſteries* of the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, and the great profeſſed *expectation* of *light* to come which we are not now able to comprehend, may abate the *edge*, yea ſheath up the

ſword

sword of persecution toward any, especially such as differ not from them in *doctrines* of *repentance*, or *faith*, or *holinesse* of *heart* and *life*, and hope of glorious and *eternall union* to come, but only in the way and manner of the *administrations* of *Jesus Christ*.

CHAP. LXXV.

Peace. TO close this head of the testimony of *Writers*, it pleaseth the *Answerer* to produce a contrary testimony of *Austin*, *Optatus*, &c.

Truth. I readily acknowledge (as formerly I did concerning the testimony of *Princes*) that *Antichrist* is too hard for *Christ* at *votes* and *numbers*; yea and beleeve that in many points (wherein the servants of *God* these many hundred yeares have beene fast asleep) *superstition* and *persecution* have had more suffrages and votes from *Gods* owne people then hath either been honourable to the *Lord*, or *peaceable* to their owne or the soules of others: Therefore (not to derogate from the pretious *memory* of any of them) let us briefly consider what they have in this point affirmed.

Superstition & persecution have had many votes from Gods owne people.

To begin with *Austin*: "They murther (saith he) soules, and "themselves are afflicted in body, and they put men to everlasting "death, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to temporall death.

Austins saying for persecution examined.

I answer, This *Rhetoricall perswasion of humane wisdome* seems very reasonable in the eye of *flesh* and *blood*, but one *Scripture* more prevailes with faithfull and obedient soules then thousands of plausible and eloquent speeches: in particular,

Soul-killing.

First, the *Scripture* useth *soule-killing* in a large sense, not only for the *teaching* of *false prophets* and *seducers*, but even for the *offensive walking of Christians*, in which respect (1 Cor. 8.) a true *Christian* may be guilty of destroying a soule for whom *Christ* died, and therefore by this rule ought to be hanged, burned, &c.

Secondly, That plausible similitude will not prove that every false *teaching* or false practice actually kills the *soule*, as the *body* is slaine, and slaine but once, for *soules* infected or bewitched may againe *recover*, 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 2 Tim. 2. &c.

Thirdly, for *soule-killings*, yea also for *soule-woundings* and grievings, *Christ Jesus* hath appointed *remedies* sufficient in his *Church*. There comes forth a *two edged sword* out of his *mouth* (Rev. 1. and

Punishments provided by Christ Jesus against Soule-killers and Soule-wounders.

Rev. 2.) able to cut downe *Heresie* (as is confest) yea and to kill the *Hereticke*, yea and to punish his *soule* everlastingly, which no *sword* of *steele* can reach unto in any punishment comparable or imaginable; and therefore in this case we may say of this *spirituall soule-killing* by the *sword* of *Christs* mouth, as *Paul* concerning the incestuous person, 2 Cor. 2. *Sufficient* is this *punishment*, &c.

Fourthly, Although no *Soule-killers*, nor *Soule-grievers* may be suffred in the *Spirituall* State or Kingdome of *Christ*, the *Church*, yet he hath commanded that such should be suffered and permitted to be and live in the *World*, as I have proved on *Matth.* 13. otherwise thousands and millions of *soules* and bodies both, must be murthered and cut off by *civill combustions* and bloody warres about *Religion*.

Men dead in Sin, cannot be Soule kill'd. A Nationall enforced Religion or a Civill War for Religion the two great preventers of soule conversion and life.

Fifthly, I argue thus: The Soules of all men in the World are either naturally *dead in Sin*, or alive in *Christ*. If dead in sinne, no man can kill them, no more then he can kill a *dead man*: Nor is it a false Teacher or false Religion that can so much *prevent* the means of *Spirituall life*, as one of these two; Either the *force* of a *materiall sword*, imprisoning the Soules of men in a *State* or *Nationall Religion*, *Ministery* or *Worship*: Or secondly, *Civill warres* and *combustions* for *Religion* sake, whereby men are immediately cut off without any longer *meanes* of *Repentance*.

Now againe, for the Soules that are alive in *Christ*, he hath graciously appointed *Ordinances* powerfully *sufficient* to maintaine and cherish that *life*, *Armour of proofe* able to defend them against *men* and *devils*.

Secondly, the Soule once alive in Christ, is like Christ himselfe, (*Revel.* 1.) alive for ever, (*Rom.* 6.) and cannot die a *spiritual death*.

Soule killers prove (by the grace of Christ) soule savers.

Lastly, Grant a man to be a *false Teacher*, an *Heretick*, a *Balaam*, a *Spirituall witch*, a *Wolfe*, a *Persecuter*, breathing out *blasphemies* against *Christ*, and *slaughters* against his *followers*, as *Paul* did, *Act.* 9. I say, these who appeare *Soule-killers* to day, by the grace of *Christ* may prove (as *Paul*) *Soule-savers* to morrow: and saith *Paul* to *Timothy* (1 *Tim.* 4.) thou shalt save thy selfe and them that heare thee: which all must necessarily be prevented, if all that comes within the sense of these *Soule-killers*, must (as guilty of blood) be corporally kill'd and put to *death*.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, your *Answers* are so satisfactorie to *Austins* speech, that if *Austin* himselfe were now living, me thinkes he should be of your mind. I pray descend to *Optatus*, who "(saith the Answerer) justifies *Macharius* for putting some *Here-* "*ticks* to death, affirming that he had done no more herein then "what *Moses*, *Phineas* and *Elias* had done before him.

Optatus examined.

Truth. These are *shafts* usually drawne from the *Quiver* of the *Ceremoniall* and *typicall* state of the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes*, whose *shadowish* and *figurative* state vanished at the appearing of the *Body* and *substance*, the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, who set up another *Kingdome* or *Church* (Heb. 12.) *Ministrie* and *Worship*: in which we finde no such *Ordinance*, *precept* or *president* of killing men by Materiall Swords for *Religion* sake.

Persecuters leave Christ, & flie to Moses for their practice.

More particularly concerning *Moses*, I quærie what *commandement* or *practice* of *Moses* either *Optatus* or the *Answerer* here intend? Probably that passage of *Deut.* 13. wherein *Moses* appointed a slaughter either of a *person* or a *city* that should depart from the *God* of *Israel*, with whom that *Nationall Church* was in Covenant. And if so, I shall particularly reply to that place in my Answer to the Reasons hereunder mentioned.

Concerning *Phineas* his zealous Act:

Phineas his act discussed.

First, his slaying of the *Israelitish* man, and woman of *Midian*, was not for *spirituall*, but *corporall* filthines.

Secondly, no man will produce his *fact* as presidentiall to any *Minister* of the *Gospel* so to act in any *Civill state* or *Commonweale*; although I believe in the *Church of God* it is *presidentiall* for either *Minister* or *people* to kill and slay with the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit* of *God* any such bold and open presumptuous sinners as these were.

Lastly, concerning *Eliah*: There were two famous *acts* of *Eliah* of a killing nature:

Eliahs slaughters examined.

First, that of slaying 850 of *Baals* Prophets. 1 *Kings* 18.

Secondly of the two *Captaines* and their Fifties, by fire, &c.

For the first of these, it cannot figure or type out any *materiall slaughter* of the many thousands of *false Prophets* in the World by any *materiall sword* of Iron or Steele: for as that passage was *miraculous*,

raculous, ſo finde we not any ſuch *commiſſion* given by the *Lord Jeſus* to the Miniſters of the *Goſpel*. And laſtly, ſuch a ſlaughter muſt not only extend to all the falſe *prophets* in the World, but (according to the *Anſwerers* grounds) to the many thouſands of thouſands of *Idolaters* and falſe *worſhippers* in the *Kingdomes* and *Nations* of the *World*.

Eliahs conſuming the 2 Captaines and their companies by fire, diſcuſſed.

For the ſecond Act of *Eliah*, as it was alſo of a *miraculous* nature: So ſecondly, when the *followers* of the *Lord Jeſus* (Luc 9.) propoſed ſuch a practice to the *Lord Jeſus*, for injury offered to his owne perſon, he diſclaimed it with a *milde checke* to their *angry ſpirits*, telling them plainly they knew not what *ſpirits* they were of; and addeth that gentle and mercifull *concluſion*, That he came not to deſtroy the *bodies* of men, as contrarily *Antichriſt* doth, alledging theſe inſtances from the *Old Teſtament*, as alſo *Peters* killing *Ananias*, Acts 5. and *Peters* viſion and voice, Ariſe *Peter*, kill and eat, Act. 10.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Peace. YOu have ſo ſatisfied theſe inſtances brought by *Optatus*, that me thinks *Optatus* and the Anſwerer himſelf might reſt ſatisfied.

I will not trouble you with *Bernards* argument from Rom. 13. which you have already on that Scripture ſo largely anſwered.

But what thinke you (laſtly) of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Aretius*?

Truth Anſ. Since matters of fact and opinion are barely related by the Anſwerer without their grounds, whoſe grounds notwithſtanding in this Diſcourſe are anſwered. I anſwer, if *Paul* himſelf were joyned with them, yea or an Angel from Heaven bringing any other rule then what the Lord Jeſus hath once delivered, we have *Pauls* concluſion and reſolution, peremptory and dreadfull, Gal. 1. 8.

Peace. This paſſage finiſhed, let me finiſh the whole by propoſing one concluſion of the Author of the arguments, viz. "It is "no prejudice to the Commonwealth if Liberty of Conſcience "were ſuffered to ſuch as feare God indeed: *Abraham* abode a "long time amongſt the Cananites, yet contrary to them in Reli- "gion, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Againe, he ſojourned in Gerar, and "King *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24.

Iſaac

"*Isaack* also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in Religion, "*Gen.* 26.

"*Jacob* lived 20 yeares in one house with his Unkle *Laban*, yet "differed in Religion, *Gen.*31.

"The people of Israel were about 430 yeares in that infamous "land of Egypt, and afterwards 70 yeares in Babylon: all which "times they differed in Religion from the States, *Exod.* 12. & "2 *Chron.* 36.

"Come to the time of Christ, where Israel was under the Ro-"manes, where lived divers Sects of Religion, as Herodians, "Scribes and Pharises, Saduces and Libertines, Theudæans and "Samaritanes, beside the Common Religion of the Jews, & Christ "and his Apostles. All which differed from the Common Religi-"on of the State, which was like the Worship of *Diana*, which "almost the whole World then worshipped, *Acts* 19.20.

"All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*, being nothing "hurtfull unto the Commonwealth, giving unto *Cæsar* that which "was his. And for their Religion and Consciences towards God, "he left them to themselves, as having no dominion over their "Soules and Consciences: And when the Enemies of the Truth "raised up any tumults, the wisedome of the Magistrate most wisely "appeased them, *Acts* 18 14. & 19.35.

"Unto this the Answerer returnes thus much:

"It is true, that without prejudice to the Common-wealth, Li-"bertie of Conscience may be suffered to such as feare God indeed, "as knowing they will not persist in Heresie or turbulent Schisme, "when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulnes there-"of. But the question is, whether an Heretick after once or twice "Admonition, (and so after Conviction) and any other scanda-"lous and heynous offender, may be tolerated either in the Church "without Excommunication, or in the Common-weale without "such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and "damnable infection.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Truth. I Here observe the *Answerers partiality*, that none but such as truly feare God should enjoy *Libertie of Conscience*, whence the *Inhabitants of the World* must either come into the

the estate of men fearing *God*, or else *dissemble* a *Religion* in hypocrisie, or else be driven out of the *World*: One must follow. The first is only the gift of *God*, the second and third are too commonly practised upon this ground.

Againe, since there is so much controversie in the World, where the name of *Christ* is taken up, concerning the true *Church*, the *Ministrie* and *Worship*, and who are those that truly feare *God*; I aske who shall judge in this case, who be they that feare God?

Dangerous consequences flowing from the Civill Magistrates judging in Spirituall causes.

It must needs be granted, that such as have the power of *suffring* or not *suffring*, such *Consciences*, must judge: and then must it follow (as before I intimated) that the *Civill State* must judge of the truth of the *Spirituall*; and then *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing *God*, must judge of the feare of *God*: also that their *judgement* or sentence must be according to their *conscience*, of what *Religion* soever: Or that there is no lawfull *Magistrate*, who is not able to judge in such cases. And lastly, that since the *Soveraigne power* of all *Civill Authority* is founded in the *consent* of the People, that every *Common-weale* hath radically and fundamentally in it a power of true discerning the true feare of God, which they transfer to their *Magistrates* and Officers: Or else that there are no lawfull *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, or *Townes* in the *world*, in which a man may live, and unto whose Civill Government he may submit: and then (as I said before) there must be no *World*, nor is it lawfull to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning Spirit to judge them that feare or not feare God.

The World turned upside down.

The wonderfull answer of the Ministers of the Church of New England to the Ministers of the Church of Old England.

Lastly, although this worthy *Answerer* so readily grants, that *Libertie* of *Conscience* should be suffred to them that feare *God* indeed: yet we know what the *Ministers* of the *Churches* of *New-England* wrote in answer to the 3 Question sent to them by some *Ministers* of *Old England*, viz. that although they confest them to be such persons whom they approved of far above themselves, yea who were in their hearts to live and die together; yet if they and other godly people with them, comming over to them, should differ in *Church constitution*, they then could not approve their *Civill cohabitation* with them, and consequently could not advise the *Magistrates* to suffer them to enjoy a Civill being within their *Jurisdiction*.

Heare O *Heavens*, and give eare O *Earth*, yea let the Heavens be astonished, and the Earth tremble at such an *Answer* as this from such

such excellent men to such whom they esteeme for *godlinesse* above themselves.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Peace. YEa, but they say, they doubt not if they were there but they should agree; for, say they, either you will come to us, or you may shew us light to come to you, for we are but weak men, and dreame not of *perfection* in this life.

Truth. Alas, who knowes not what lamentable *differences* have beene betweene the same *Ministers* of the *Church of England*, some conforming, others leaving their *livings*, *friends*, *country*, *life*, rather then conforme; when others againe (of whose personall *godlinesse* it is not questioned) have succeeded by *conformity* into such forsaken (so called) *Livings*? How great the present *differences* even amongst them that feare *God*, concerning *Faith*, *Justification*, and the evidence of it? concerning *Repentance* and *godly sorrow*, as also and mainly concerning the *Church*, the *Matter*, *Forme*, *Administrations* and *Government* of it?

Let none now thinke that the passage to *New England* by Sea, or the nature of the *Countrey* can doe what onely the Key of *David* can doe, to wit, open and shut the Consciences of men.

Beside, how can this bee a faithfull and upright acknowledgement of their *weaknesse* and imperfection, when they *preach*, *print*, and *practise* such violence to the *soules* and *bodies* of others, and by their *Rules* and *Grounds* ought to proceed even to the killing of those whom they judge so deare unto them, and in respect of *godlinesse* far above themselves?

Lamentable differences even amongst them that tear God.

Betweene the Presbyterians and Independants, Covenanters and Noncovenanters, of both which many are truly godly in their persons.

CHAP. LXXX.

Peace. YEa but (say they) the *godly* will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience*, *&c.*

Truth. Sweet *Truth*, if the Civill Court and *Magistracy* must judge (as before I have written) and those Civill Courts are as lawfull, consisting of *naturall men* as of *godly* persons, then what *consequences* necessarily will follow, I have before mentioned. And I adde, according to this *conclusion* it must follow, that, if the most *godly*

The doctrine of persecution necessarily and most commonly falls to vieft upon the most godly persons.

godly persons yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition* (as is maintained by the *Answerer*) they must necessarily be esteemed *obstinate* persons, for if they were *godly* (saith he) they would yeeld. Must it not then be said (as it was by one, passing sentence of *Banishment* upon some, whose godlinesse was acknowledged) that he that commanded the *Judge* not to respect the poore in the cause of *judgement*, commands him not to respect the holy or the godly person?

The doctrine of persecution drives the most godly persons out of the world.

Hence I could name the place and time when a *godly* man, a most desirable person for his trade, &c. (yet something different in *conscience*) propounded his willingnesse and desire to come to dwell in a certaine *Town* in *New England*; it was answered by the Chiefe of the place, This man differs from us, and wee desire not to be troubled. So that in conclusion (for no other reason in the world) the poore man, though godly, usefull and peaceable, could not be admitted to a Civill Being and Habitation on the Common Earth in that Wildernesse amongst them.

The latter part of the Answer concerning the *Hereticke* or obstinate person to be excommunicated, and the *scandalous offender* to be punished in the *Commonweale*, which neither of both come neere our *Question*: I have spoken I feare too largely already.

Peace. Mr. *Cotton* concludes with a confident perswasion of having removed the grounds of that great *errour*, *viz.* that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of *conscience*.

Truth. And I beleeve (deare *Peace*) it shall appear to them that (with feare and trembling at the word of the Lord) examine these passages, that the charge of *errour* reboundeth backe even such an *errour*, as may well bee called the *bloody tenent*, so directly contradicting the *spirit* and *minde* and *practice* of the *Prince* of *Peace*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of soules compelled and forced to *Hypocrisie* in a *spirituall* and *soule rape*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, persecuted in all *ages* for the *cause* of *Conscience*, and so destructive to the *civill peace* and *welfare* of all *Kingdomes*, *Countries*, and *Commonwealths*.

The bloody Tenent.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Peace. TO this Conclusion (*deare Truth*) I heartily subscribe, and know the *God*, the *Spirit*, the *Prince*, the *Angels*, and all the true awaked Sons of Peace will call thee blessed.

Truth.

Truth. How ſweet and precious are theſe *contemplations*, but oh how ſweet the *actions* and *fruitions*?

Peace. Thy lips drop as the *Honey-combe*, *Honey* and *Milke* are under thy *Tongue*; oh that theſe *drops*, theſe *ſtreames* might flow without a *ſtop* or *interruption*!

Truth. The glorious white *Troopers* (*Rev.* 19.) ſhall in time be mounted, and he that is the moſt *High Prince* of *Princes*, and *Lord Generall* of *Generalls* mounted upon the Word of Truth and Meekneſſe (*Pſal* 45.) ſhall triumph glorioufly, and renew our meetings. But harke, what noiſe is this?

Peace. Theſe are the dolefull *drums*, and ſhrill ſounding *trumpets*, the roaring murthering *Canons*, the *ſhouts* of *Conquerours*, the *grones* of *wounded*, *dying*, *ſlaughtered*, *righteous* with the *wicked*. Deare Truth how long? how long theſe dreadfull *ſounds* and direfull *ſights*? how long before my glad *returne* and *reſtitution*? Warres for Conſcience.

Truth. Sweet Peace, who will beleeve my true *report*? yet true it is, if I were once beleev'd, bleſt Truth and Peace ſhould not ſo ſoone be parted.

Peace. Deare Truth, what welcome haſt thou found of late beyond thy former times or preſent expectations?

Truth. Alas, my *welcome* changes as the *times*, and ſtrongeſt *ſwords* and *armes* prevaile: were I beleeved in this, that *Chriſt* is not delighted with the *blood* of men (but ſhed his owne for his bloodieſt *enemies*) that by the word of *Chriſt* no man for gainſaying *Chriſt*, or joyning with his enemy *Antichriſt*, ſhould bee moleſted with the *civill ſword*: Were this *foundation* laid as the *Magna Charta* of higheſt *liberties*, and good *ſecurity* given on all hands for the preſervation of it, how ſoone ſhould every brow and houſe be ſtucke with *Olive Branches*? The bleſſed Magna Charta

Peace. This heavenly *invitation* makes mee bold once more to crave thy patient *eare* and holy *tongue*. *Errours* impatient and ſoon tyred, but thou art *Light*, and like the *Father* of *Lights*, unwearied in thy ſhinings. Loe here what once againe I preſent to thy impartiall *cenſure*.

A Model of Church and Civil Power.

Composed by Mr. Cotton *and the* Ministers *of* New-England,

And sent to the Church at Salem, as a further Confirmation of the bloody Doctrine of Persecution for cause of Conscience.

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Truth. WHat hast thou there?

Peace. Here is a *combination* of thine owne *Children* against thy very *life* and mine: Here is a *Modell* (framed by many able learned and godly hands) of such a *Church* and *Common-weale* as wakens *Moses* from his unknown Grave, and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the Earth.

A strange Modell of a Church and Common-weale, after the Mosaicall and Jewish pattern

Truth. Begin (sweet *Peace*) read and propound. My hand shall not be tyred with holding the *ballances* of the *Sanctuarie*: doe thou put in, and I shall weigh as in the presence of him whose pure eyes cannot behold *iniquitie*.

Peace. "Thus then speakes the *Preface* or Entrance. "Seeing "*God* hath given a distinct power to *Church* and *Common-weale*, "the one *Spirituall* (called the Power of the *Keyes*) the other "*Civill* (called the Power of the *Sword*) and hath made the mem-"bers of both *Societies* subject to both Authorities, so that every

Mat. 16. 19. with Joh. 20. 23. Rom. 13. 1. Mat. 10. 18. Tit 3. 1. Acts 15. 20.

Soule

"soule in the Church is subject to the higher powers in the Com- Isa.49.23.
"monweale, and every member of the Commonweale (being a Gal.3.28.
"member of the Church) is subject to the Lawes of Christs King-
"dome, and in him to the censures of the Church; the Question
"is, how the Civill State and the Church may dispence their seve-
"rall Governments without infringement and impeachment of
"the power and honour of the One or of the Other, and what
"bounds and limits the Lord hath set betweene both the Admi-
"nistrations.

Truth. "From that conclusion (deare *Peace*) that every mem- Christs power in his Church confest to be above all Magistrates in Spirituall things.
"of the Commonweale, being a member of the Church, is subject
"to the Lawes of Christs Kingdome, and in Him to the censure of
the Church; I observe that taey grant the *Church* of *Christ* in *Spi-*
rituall causes to be superiour and over the highest *Magistrates* in
the World, if members of the Church.

Hence therefore I infer, may she refuse to receive, and may also cast forth any, yea even the highest (if obstinate in Sin) out of her *Spirituall society*.

Hence in this *Spirituall society*, that soule who hath most of *Christ*, most of His *Spirit*, is most (spiritually) honourable, according to the *Scriptures*, quoted *Acts* 15.20. *Isa.*49.23. *Gal.*3.28.

And if so, how can this stand with their common *tenent*, that the Civill *Magistrate* must keep the first Table set up, reforme the *Church*, and be *Judge* and *Governour* in all *Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civill causes*?

Secondly, I observe the lamentable wresting of this one Scripture, *Isa.*49.23. Sometimes this Scripture must prove the *Power* of the *Civill Magistrates*, *Kings* and *Governours*, over the *Church* in *Spirituall causes*, &c. Yet here this Scripture is produced to prove *Kings* and *Magistrates* (in *Spirituall causes*) to be censured and corrected by the same *Church*. 'Tis true in *severall respects*, he that is a *Governour* may be a *subject* but in *one* and the same *spirituall respect* to *judge* and to be *judged*: to sit on the *Bench*, and stand at the *Bar* of *Christ Jesus*, is as impossible as to reconcile the East and West together. Isa.49.23. lamentably wrested.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXII.

The first head, That both Iurisdictions may stand together.

The first head examined.

Peace. "WHereas divers affecting transcending power to "themselves over the Church have perswaded "the Princes of the World, that the Kingdome of Christ in His "Church cannot rise or stand, without the falls of those Common-
John 18.36. "weales wherein it is set up, we do beleeve and professe the con-
"trary to this suggestion; the government of the one being of
Jer.29.7. "this World, the other not; the Church helping forward the "prosperity of the Commonweale by meanes only *Ecclesiasticall* "and *Spirituall*; the Commonweale helping forward her owne
Ezra 7.23. "and the Churches felicity by meanes politicall or temporall; the
Rom.1.2.3. "falls of Commonweales being knowne to arise from their scat-
2 Tim.2.2. "tering and diminishing the power of the Church, and the flouri-
"shing of Commonweales with the well ordering of the people
"(even in morall and civill virtues) being observed to arise from
"the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church,
"as *Bodin*, (a man not partiall to Church Discipline) plainely
"testifieth. The vices in the free estate of Geneva, *quæ legibus nus-*
"*quàm vindicantur*, by meanes of Church Discipline, *sine vi & tu-*
"*multu coercentur*; the Christian liberty not freeing us from sub-
"jection to Authority, but from inthrallment and bondage unto
"sinne.

The Civill Commonweal and the Spirituall Commonweale the Church, not inconsistent, though independent the one on the other.

Truth. Ans. From this *confession*, that the *Church* or *Kingdome* of *Christ* may be set up without prejudice of the *Commonweale*, according to *John* 18.36. My *Kingdome* is not of this *World*, &c. I observe that although the *Kingdome* of *Christ*, the *Church* and the *Civil Kingdome* or *Government* be not *inconsistent*, but that both may stand together; yet that they are *independent* according to that *Scripture*, and that therefore there may be (as formerly I have proved) flourishing *Commonweales* and *Societies* of men where no *Church* of *Christ* abideth; and secondly, the *Commonweale* may be in perfect peace and quiet, notwithstanding the *Church*, the *Commonweale* of *Christ* be in *distractions*, and spirituall *oppositions* both against their *Religions*, and sometimes amongst themselves, as the *Church* of *Christ*

Christ in *Corinth* troubled with *divisions, contentions*, &c.

Secondly, I observe it is true the Church helpeth forward the prosperity of the *Commonweale* by spirituall meanes. *Jer.*29.7. The prayers of Gods people procure the *peace* of the *City*, where they abide, yet that *Christs Ordinances* and *administrations* of *Worship* are appointed and given by *Christ* to any *Civill State*, *Towne* or *City* as is implied by the instance of *Geneva*, that I confidently deny.

The *Ordinances* and *Discipline* of *Christ Jesus*, though wrongfully and prophanely applied to naturall and unregenerate men may cast a blush of *civillity* and *morality* upon them as in *Geneva* and other places (for the shining brightnesse of the very *shadow* of *Christs Ordinances* casts a shame upon *barbarisme* and *incivillity* yet withall I affirme that the misapplication of *Ordinances* to unregenerate and unrepentant persons hardens up their soules in a dreadfull sleep and dreame of their owne blessed estate, and sends *millions* of *soules* to hell in a secure expectation of a false *salvation*.

Christs Ordinances put upon a whole City or Nation, may more civilize and moralize, but never Christianize them.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The second head, concerning Superiority of each Power.

Peace. "BEcause contention may arise in future times which "of these Powers under Christ is the greatest as it "hath been under Antichrist, we conceive first, That the power "of the *Civill Magistrate* is superiour to the *Church policie* in *place*, "*honours*, *dignity*, *earthly power* in the *World*; and the *Church* superiour to him (being a member of the *Church*) *Ecclesiastically*, that "is, in a *Church* way ruling and ordering him by *Spirituall Ordi*"*nances* according to *God* for his *soules* health, as any other mem"ber, so that all the *power* the *Magistrate* hath over the *Church* is "*temporall* not *spirituall*, and all the *power* the *Church* hath over the "*Magistrate* is *spirituall* not *temporall*: And as the *Church* hath "no *temporall power* over the *Magistrate*, *in ordine ad bonum spiritu*"*ale*: So the *Magistrate* hath no Spirituall power over the "Church *in ordine ad bonum temporale*.

The second head concerning superiority of each power.

Rom. 13.1.5.6
Isa.49.23.
Isa.49.23.

Luc.12.14.
Joh.8.11.

"Secondly, the delinquencie of either party calleth for the ex"ercise of the power of terrour from the other part; for no Rulers "ordained of God are a terrour to good works, but to evill, *Rom.*

And that *judicium* of the Church in law suits, 1Cor.6 2 is only *arbitrarium* not *coactivum*.

"13.3. So that if the Church offend, the offence of the Church "calleth upon the Civill Magistrate, either to seeke the healing "thereof as a nursing father by his owne grave advice, and the ad- "vice of other Churches; or else if he cannot so prevaile to put "forth and exercise the superiority of his power in redressing what "is amisse according to the quality of the offence by the course of "civill Justice.

"On the other side, if the Magistrate being a member of the "*Church* shall offend, the *offence* calleth upon the *Church* either to "seek the healing thereof in a brotherly way by *conviction* of his "sinne; or else if they cannot prevaile, then to exercise the *supe-* "*riority* of their power in removing of the offence and recover- "ing of the *offendour* by Church censures.

Ans. Truth.

If the end of *Spirituall* or *Church* power is *bonum spirituale*, a spirituall good; and the end of *Civill* or *State* power is *bonum temporale*, a temporall good: And secondly, if the *Magistrate* have no spirituall power to attaine to his temporall end, no more then a *Church* hath any temporall power to attaine to her *Spirituall* end, as is confest: I demand if this be not a *contradiction* against their owne *disputes*, *tenents*, and *practices* touching that question of *persecution* for cause of *conscience*: For if the *Magistrate* be supreme *Judge* (and so consequently give supreme *judgement*, *sentence* and *determination*) in matters of the first Table, and of the *Church*, and be *custos utriusq; Tabulæ*, keepers of both Tables (as they speake) and yet have no Spirituall power as is affirmed, how can he determine what the true *Church* and *Ordinances* are, and then set them up with the power of the Sword? How can he give *judgement* of a false *Church*, a false *Ministery*, a false *Doctrine*, false *Ordinances*, and with a Civil *Sword* pull them down, if he have no Spiritual *power*, *authority* or *commission* from *Christ Jesus* for these ends and purposes?

A contradiction to make the Magistrate supreme judge in spirituall causes, and yet to have no spirituall power.

Further I argue thus: If the *civill officers* of *State* must determine, judge and punish in Spirituall *causes*, his *power*, *authority* and *commission* must be either *Spirituall* or *Civill*, or else he hath none at all, and so acts without a *commission* and warrant from the *Lord Jesus*, and so consequently stands guilty at the Bar of *Christ Jesus* to answer for such his practice as a transcendent *Delinquent*.

The Civill Magistrate confest to have no Civill power over the soules of men.

Now for *civill power*, these worthy *Authors* confesse that the *Government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subject*, and therefore hath no *civill*

power

power over the *Soule*, and therefore (say I) not in *Soule-causes*.

Secondly, It is here confeſt in this paſſage, that to attaine his Civill end or *Bonum temporale*, he hath no *Spirituall power*, and therefore of neceſſitie out of their own mouths muſt they be judged for provoking the *Magiſtrate*, without either *Civill* or *Spirituall power*, to judge, puniſh and perſecute in *Spirituall cauſes*; and to feare and tremble, leſt they come neere thoſe *frogs* which proceed out of the mouth of the *Dragon* and *Beaſt* and *falſe Prophet*, who by the ſame *Arguments* which the *Authours* here uſe ſtirre up the *Kings* of the Earth to make warre againſt the *Lambe Chriſt Jeſus*, and his Followers, *Revel.* 17.

Nor ſpirituall.

CHAP. LXXXV.

IN the next place I obſerve upon the point of *Delinquencie*, ſuch a *confuſion*, as *Heaven* and *Earth* may ſtand amazed at: If the *Church* offend (ſay they) after advice refuſed, in concluſion the *Magiſtrate* muſt redreſſe, that is, puniſh the *Church* (that is, in *Church offences* and caſes) by a courſe of *Civill juſtice*.

On the other ſide, if the *Civill Magiſtrate* offend after *Admonition* uſed, and not prevailing, in concluſion the *Church* proceeds to *cenſure*, that is, to Excommunication, as is afterward more largely proved by them.

Now I demand, if the *Church* be a *Delinquent*, who ſhall judge? It is anſwered, the *Magiſtrate*. Againe, if the *Magiſtrate* be a *Delinquent*, I aske who ſhall judge? It is anſwered, the *Church*. Whence I obſerve, (which is monſtrous in all caſes in the *World*) that one perſon, to wit, the *Church* or *Magiſtrate*, ſhall be at one time the *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, and the *Judge* upon the *Bench*. This is cleere thus: The *Church* muſt judge when the *Magiſtrate* offends; and yet the *Magiſtrate* muſt judge when the *Church* offends; and ſo conſequently in this caſe muſt judge whether ſhe contemne *Civill Authority* in the Second *Table*, for thus dealing with him: Or whether ſhe have broken the rules of the firſt Table, of which (ſay they) God hath made him *Keeper* and *Conſerver*. And therefore, though the *Church* make him a *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, yet by their confeſſion *God* hath made him a *Judge* on the *Bench*. What *blood*, what *tumults* hath been, and muſt be ſpilt upon theſe grounds?

The Magiſtrate and the Church, by the Authors grounds, at one and the ſame time, in one and the ſame cauſe, made the Judges on the Bench, and Delinquents at the Barre.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, No queſtion but the *Church* may puniſh the *Magiſtrate* ſpiritually in *ſpirituall* caſes; and the *Magiſtrate* may puniſh the *Church*, *civilly*, in *civill* caſes: But that for one and the ſame *cauſe* the *Church* muſt puniſh the *Magiſtrate*, and the *Magiſtrate* the *Church*, this ſeemes monſtrous, and needs explication.

An illuſtration demonſtrating that the Civill Magiſtrate cannot have power over the Church in ſpirituall or Church cauſes.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, I illuſtrate with this *Inſtance*: A true *Church* of *Chriſt* (of which, according to the *Authors* ſuppoſition, the *Magiſtrate* is a member) chooſeth and calls one of her *members* to office: The *Magiſtrate* oppoſeth: The *Church* perſwaded that the *Magiſtrates* exceptions are inſufficient (according to her *priviledge*, which theſe Authours maintaine againſt the *Magiſtrates* prohibition) proceeds to Ordaine her officer: The *Magiſtrate* chargeth the *Church* to have made an unfit and unworthy choice, and therefore according to his *place* and *power*, and according to his *conſcience* and *judgement* he ſuppreſſeth ſuch an *officer*, and makes void the *Churches choice*: Upon this the *Church* complaines againſt the *Magiſtrates* violation of her *priviledges* given her by *Chriſt Ieſus*, and cries out that the *Magiſtrate* is turned *Perſecuter*; and not prevailing with *admonition*, ſhe proceeds to *Excommunication* againſt him: The *Magiſtrate* according to his *conſcience*, endures not ſuch *profanation* of *Ordinances* as he conceives; and therefore if no *advice* and *admonition* prevaile, he proceeds againſt ſuch obſtinate *abuſers* of *Chriſts* holy Ordinances, (as the *Authors* grant he may) in Civill Court of *juſtice*, yea and (I adde according to the *patterne* of *Iſrael*) cuts them off by the *ſword*, as obſtinate *uſurpers* and *prophaners* of the holy things of *Chriſt*.

The puniſhments Civill which the Magiſtrate inflicts upon the Church for Civill crimes, lawfull and neceſſary.

I demand what helpe hath any poore *Church* of *Chriſt* in this caſe, by maintaining this power of the *Magiſtrate* to puniſh the *Church* of *Chriſt*, I meane in *ſpirituall* and *Soule-caſes*, for otherwiſe I queſtion not but he may put all the *members* of the *Church* to *death* juſtly, if they commit crimes worthy thereof, as *Paul* ſpake, *Acts* 23.

Shall the *Church* here flie to the *Popes* Sanctuarie againſt *Emperours* and *Princes* excommunicate, to wit, give away their *crowns*, *kingdomes* or *dominions*, and invite forraigne *Princes* to make War upon them and their *Territories*? The *Authors* ſurely will diſclaime this; and yet I ſhall prove their *Tenents* tend directly unto ſuch a practiſe.

Or

Or secondly, shall she say the *Magistrate* is not a true *Magistrate*, because not able to judge and determine in such cases? This, their *confession* will not give them leave to say, because they cannot deny *unbelievers* to be *lawfull Magistrates*: and yet it shall appeare (notwithstanding their *confession* to the contrary) their Tenents imply, that none but a *Magistrate* after their own *conscience*, is a lawfull *Magistrate*.

Therefore, thirdly, they must ingenuously and honestly confesse, that if it be the duty of the *Magistrate* to punish the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, he must then judge according to his *conscience* and *perswasion*, whatever his *conscience* be: and then let all men judge into what a wofull state they bring both the *civill Magistrate* and *Church* of *Christ*, by such a *Church*-destroying and *State*-destroying Doctrine.

Peace. Some will here say, in such a case either the *Magistrate* or the *Church* must judge; either the *Spirituall* or *Civill* State must be supreme.

I answer, if the *Magistrate* be of another Religion,

First, What hath the *Church* to judge him being without? 1 Cor. 5.

Secondly, If he be a *member* of the *Church*, doubtles the *Church* hath power to judge (in *spirituall* and Soule-cases) with *spirituall* and *Church* censures all that are within, 1 Cor. 5.

Thirdly, If the *Church* offend against the *civill* peace of the *State*, by wronging the *bodies* or *goods* of any, the *Magistrate* bears not the sword in vaine, Rom. 13. to correct any or all the members of the *Church*. And this I conceive to be the onely way of the God of Peace.

The true way of the God of Peace in differences between the Church & the Magistrate.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The third head concerns the End of both these Powers.

"FIrst the common and last end of both is Gods glory, and Mans "eternall felicitie.

"Secondly, the proper ends:

"First of Commonwealth, is the procuring, preserving, increa-"sing of externall and temporall peace and felicitie of the State in "all Godlines and Honestie, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

"Secondly, of the Church, a begetting, preſerving, increaſing
"of internall and ſpirituall peace and felicity of the Church, in all
"godlineſſe and honeſty, *Eſay* 2. 3, 4. and 9. 7. So that Magiſtrates
"have power given them from Chriſt in matters of Religion, be-
"cauſe they are bound to ſee that outward peace be preſerved, not
"in all ungodlineſſe and diſhoneſty (for ſuch peace is Satanicall)
"but in all godlineſſe and honeſty, for ſuch peace God aymes at.
"And hence the Magiſtrate is *cuſtos* of both the Tables of godli-
"neſſe, in the firſt of Honeſty, in the ſecond for Peace ſake. Hee
"muſt ſee that honeſty be preſerved within his juriſdiction, or elſe
Chamier. de Eccleſ. p. 376. Park. part. polit. lib. 1. cap. 1
"the ſubject will not be *bonus Civis*. Hee muſt ſee that godlineſſe
"as well as honeſty be preſerved, elſe the ſubject will not be *bonus*
"*vir*, who is the beſt *bonus civis*. Hee muſt ſee that godlineſſe and
"honeſty be preſerved, or elſe himſelfe will not bee *bonus Magi-*
"*ſtratus*.

Truth. In this paſſage here are divers particulars affirmed marvellous deſtructive both to *godlineſſe* and *honeſty*, though under a faire marke and colour of both.

The Garden of the Church and the Wilderneſſe of the World made all one.

First, it will appeare that in ſpirituall things they make the *Garden* and the *Wilderneſſe* (as often I have intimated) I ſay the *Garden* and the *Wilderneſſe*, the *Church* and the *World* are all one: for thus,

If the *Powers* of the *World* or *Civill State*, are bound to propoſe *externall* Peace in all *godlineſſe* for their end, and the end of the *Church* be to preſerve internall Peace in all *godlineſſe*, I demand if their end (*godlineſſe*) bee the ſame, is not their *power* and *ſtate* the ſame alſo, unleſſe they make the *Church ſubordinate* to the *Commonwealths* end, or the *Commonweale ſubordinate* to the *Churches* end, which (being the *governour* and ſetter up of it, and ſo conſequently the *Judges* of it) it cannot be?

The Commonweale more charged by theſe Authors with the Worſhip and Ordinances, then the Church.

Now if *godlineſſe* bee the *worſhipping* and walking with *God* in *Chriſt*, is not the Magiſtrate and Commonweale charged more by this *tenent* with the *worſhip* and *Ordinances* of *God*, then the *Church*, for the *Magiſtrate* they charge with the externall peace in *godlineſſe*, and the *Church* but with the *internall*.

I aske further, what is this internall peace in all *godlineſſe*? whether intend they internall within the *Soule*, which onely the eye of *God* can ſee, oppoſed to *externall* or *viſible*, which man alſo can diſcerne? or elſe whether they meane internall, that is ſpirituall *ſoule* matters, matters of *Gods Worſhip*, and then I ſay that peace (to

wit,

wit, of *godlineſſe* or *Gods worſhip*) they had before granted to the *civill State*?

Peace. The Truth is, (as I now perceive) the beſt and moſt *godly* of that *judgement* declare themſelves never to have ſeene a true *difference* betweene the *Church* and the *World*, and the *Spirituall* and *Civill State*; and howſoever theſe worthy *Authours* ſeeme to make a kinde of *ſeparation* from the *World*, and profeſſe that the *Church* muſt conſiſt of ſpirituall and *living Stones*, *Saints*, *Regenerate* perſons, and ſo make ſome peculiar incloſed *Ordinances*, as the Supper of the *Lord*, (which none, ſay they, but *godly* perſons muſt taſte of) yet by compelling all within their *Juriſdiction* to an outward *conformity* of the *Church worſhip*, of the *Word* and *Prayer*, and *maintenance* of the *Miniſtry* thereof, they evidently declare that they ſtill lodge and dwell in the confuſed mixtures of the *uncleane* and *cleane*, of the *flock* of *Chriſt*, and *Herds* of the *World* together, I meane in *ſpirituall* and *religious* worſhip.

The authors of theſe Poſitions never yet ſaw a true difference betweene the Church of Chriſt and the world, in point of worſhip.

Truth. For a more full and clear diſcuſſion of this Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. 2. (on which is weakly built ſuch a mighty building) I ſhall propoſe and reſolve theſe foure *Queries.*

CHAP. LXXXVII.

1 Tim 2.1. diſcuſſed.

Firſt, what is meant by *godlineſſe* and *honeſty* in this place.

Secondly, what may the *ſcope* of the holy *Spirit* of *God* be in this place.

Thirdly, whether the *civill Magiſtrate* was then *cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*, keeper of both *Tables*, *&c.*

Fourthly, whether a *Church* or *Congregation* of *Chriſtians* may not live in *godlineſſe* and *honeſty*, although the *civill Magiſtrate* be of another *conſcience* and *worſhip*, and the whole *State* and *Country* with him.

To the firſt, What is here meant by *godlineſſe* and *honeſty*?

The word honeſty in this place of Timothy cannot ſignifie here the honeſty or righteouſneſſe of the ſecond Table.

Anſw. I finde not that the *Spirit* of *God* here intendeth the firſt and ſecond Table.

For, how ever the word Ευσέβεια ſignifie *godlineſſe*, or the *worſhip* of *God*, yet the ſecond word Σεμνότης I finde not that it ſignifies ſuch an *honeſty* as compriſeth the *duties* of the ſecond *Table*, but ſuch an *honeſty* as ſignifies *ſolemnity*, *gravity*, and ſo it is turned by the *Tranſlatours*, Tit. 2. 7. ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀδιαφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, that is, in doctrine.

doctrine, incorruptneſſe, gravity: which *doctrine* cannot there bee taken for the *doctrine* of the *civill ſtate*, or ſecond Table, but the *gravity*, *majeſty*, and *ſolemnity* of the ſpirituall *doctrine* of *Chriſtianity*. So that according to the Tranſlatours owne rendring of that word in *Titus*, this place of *Timothy* ſhould be thus rendred [In all *godlineſſe* (or *worſhipping* of *God*) and *gravity*] that is, a ſolemne or grave profeſſion of the *worſhip* of *God*; and yet this miſtaken and miſinterpreted *Scripture* is that great *Caſtle* and ſtrong *Hold* which ſo many flye unto concerning the *Magiſtrates charge* over the two *Tables*.

The ſcope of Gods Spirit in this place of Timothy.

Secondly, what is the *ſcope* of the *Spirit* of *God* in this place?

I anſwer firſt *negatively*, the *ſcope* is not to ſpeake of the *duties* of the *firſt* and ſecond *Table*:

Nor ſecondly is the *ſcope* to charge the *Magiſtrate* with forcing the people (who have choſe him) to *godlineſſe* or *Gods worſhip*, according to his *conſcience*, (the *Magiſtrate* keeping the peace of externall *godlineſſe*, and the *Church* of *internall*, as is affirmed:) but

Secondly, *poſitively*, I ſay the *Spirit* of *God* by *Paul* in this place provokes *Timothy* and the *Church* at *Epheſus*, and ſo conſequently all the *Miniſters* of *Chriſts Churches* and *Chriſtians*, to pray for two things.

Gods people muſt pray for and endeavour the peace of the State they live in.

Firſt, for the peaceable and quiet ſtate of the Countries and places of their abode, that is implyed in their praying (as *Paul* directs them) for a quiet and *peaceable* condition, and ſuits ſweetly with the command of the *Lord* to his people, even in *Babel*, *Jer.* 29.7. Pray for the peace of the *City*, and ſeeke the *good* of it, for in the *Peace* thereof it ſhall goe well with you. Which *Rule* will hold in any *Pagan* or *Popiſh city*, and therefore conſequently are *Gods* people to pray againſt *warres*, *Famines*, *Peſtilences*, and eſpecially to bee far from kindling *coales* of *War*, and endeavour the bringing in and advancing their *conſcience* by the *ſword*.

Although Pagan or Pop

Secondly, they are here commanded to pray for the *ſalvation* of *all men*, that *all men*, and eſpecially *Kings* and *Magiſtrates* might be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the *truth*, implying that the grave or ſolemne and ſhining *profeſſion* of *godlineſſe* or *Gods worſhip* according to *Chriſt Jeſus*, is a bleſſed meanes to cauſe *all* ſorts of men to be affected with the *Chriſtian profeſſion*, and to come to the ſame knowledge of that *one God* and *one Mediatour Chriſt Jeſus*. All which tends directly againſt what it is brought for, to wit, the

Magi-

Magistrates forcing *all* men to *godlinesse* or the *worshipping* of *God*, which in truth causeth the greatest *breach* of *peace*, and the greatest *distractions* in the *World*, and the setting up that for *godlinesse* or *worship* which is no more then *Nebuchadnezzars golden Image*, a *State worship*, and in some places the *worship* of the *Beast*, and his *Image*, *Dan* 3. *Rev.*13.

Forcing of men to godlinesse or Gods worship, the greatest cause of breach of Civill peace

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THirdly, I quærie whether the *Civill Magistrate* (which was then the *Roman Emperour*) was *keeper* or *guardian* of both Tables (as is affirmed.)

Scripture and all *History* tell us, that those *Cæsars* were not only ignorant, without *God*, without *Christ*, &c. but professed *worshippers* or *maintainers* of the *Roman gods* or *divells*; as also notorious for all sorts of *wickednesse*, and lastly, *cruell* and bloudy *Lions*, and *Tygers* toward the *Christians* for many hundred yeares.

The Roman *Cæsars* described.

Hence I argue from the *wisdome*, *love* and *faithfulnesse* of the *Lord Jesus* in his *house*, it was impossible that he should appoint such *ignorant*, such *Idolatrous*, such *wicked* and such *cruell* persons to be his *chiefe Officers* and *Deputy Lieutenants* under himselfe to keep the *worship* of *God*, to guard his *Church*, his *Wife*: No wise and loving father was ever knowne to put his *childe*, no not his beasts, *dogs* or *swine*, but unto fitting keepers.

Not appointed by Christ Jesus keepers and guardians of his Church.

Men judge it matter of high complaint, that the *Records* of *Parliament*, the *Kings children*, the *Tower* of *London*, the *Great Seale* should be committed to unworthy *keepers*! And can it be without high *blasphemie* conceived that the *Lord Jesus* should commit his *Sheep*, his *Children*, yea his *Spouse*, his thousand shields and bucklers in the *Tower* of his *Church*! and lastly, his Great and Glorious *Broad Seales* of *Baptisme* and his *Supper*, to be preserved pure in their *administrations*, I say that the *Lord Jesus* who is *wisdome*, and *faithfulnesse* it selfe, should deliver these to such *keepers*.

Peace. Some will say, it is one thing what persons are in *fact* and *practice*: another what they ought to be by *right* and *office*.

Truth. In such cases as I have mentioned, no man doth in the common eye of *reason* deliver such matters of *charge* and *trust* to such as declare *themselves* and *sinnes* (like *Sodome*) at the very time of this great charge and trust to be committed to them.

Peace. It will further be ſaid, that many of the *Kings* of *Iudah* who had the charge of *eſtabliſhing*, *reforming* (and ſo conſequently of keeping the firſt Table) the *Church*, *Gods worſhip*, &c. were notoriouſly *wicked*, *Idolatrous*, *&c.*

Truth. I muſt then ſay, the caſe is not alike, for when the *Lord* appointed the *government* of *Iſrael* after the rejection of *Saul* to eſtabliſh a Covenant of *ſucceſſion* in the type unto *Chriſt*, let it bee minded what *patterne* and *preſident* it pleaſed the *Lord* to ſet for the after *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Iudah*, in *David* the man after His owne *Heart.*

It pleaſed not the Lord Jeſus in the firſt inſtitution of his Church to furniſh himſelfe with any ſuch Civill Governours, as unto whom hee might commit the care of his worſhip.

But now the *Lord Jeſus* being come Himſelfe, and having fulfilled the former types, and diſſolved the *Nationall ſtate* of the *Church*, and eſtabliſhed a more Spirituall way of *worſhip* all the *World* over, and appointed a *Spirituall government* and *governours*, it is well knowne what the *Roman Caſars* were, under whom both *Chriſt Jeſus Himſelfe* and his *Servants* after him lived and ſuffered; ſo that if the *Lord Jeſus* had appointed any ſuch *Deputies* (as we finde not a tittle to that purpoſe, nor have a ſhadow of true reaſon ſo to thinke) he muſt I ſay in the very firſt *inſtitution*, have pitched upon ſuch perſons for theſe *Cuſtodes utriuſq; Tabulæ*, keepers of both Tables, as no man wiſe, or faithfull or loving, would have choſen in any of the former *Inſtances* or caſes of a more inferiour nature.

Beſide to that great *pretence* of *Iſrael*, I have largely ſpoken to.

Secondly, I aske how could the *Roman Caſars* or any *Civill Magiſtrates* be *cuſtodes*, keepers of the *Church* and *worſhip* of *God*, when as the *Authours* of theſe *poſitions* acknowledge, that their *Civill power* extends but to *bodies* and *goods.*

And for *Spirituall power* they ſay they have none, *ad bonum temporale* (to a temporall good) which is their proper end, and then having neither *Civill* nor *Spirituall power* from the *Lord Jeſus* to this purpoſe, how come they to be ſuch Keepers as is pretended?

The true Keepers which Chriſt Jeſus appointed, of his Ordinances and Worſhip.

Thirdly, If the *Roman Emperours* were Keepers, what Keepers were the *Apoſtles*, unto whom the *Lord Jeſus* gave the care and charge of the *Churches*, and by whom the *Lord Ieſus* charged *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.6.* to keep thoſe *commands* of the *Lord Ieſus* without ſpot untill his *comming.*

Theſe Keepers were called the foundation of the *Church*, *Epheſ.* 2.20. and made up the *Crowne* of 12 Stars about the head of the

Woman.

Woman, *Rev.* 12. whose names were also written in the 12 *foundations* of *New Ierusalem*, *Rev.* 21.

Yea what Keepers then are the ordinary Officers of the *Church* appointed to be the Shepherds or Keepers of the Flocke of *Christ*, appointed to be the Porters or Dore-keepers and to watch in the absence of *Christ*, *Mark* 13. 34. *Acts* 20.,

Yea what charge hath the whole *Church* it selfe, which is the pillar and ground of *Truth*, 2 *Tim.* 2. in the midst of which *Christ* is present with his Power, 1 *Cor.* 5. to keep out or cast out the impenitent and obstinate, even *Kings* and *Emperours* themselves from their Spirituall society, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Jam.* 3. 1. *Gal.* 3. 28.

4. I aske whether in the time of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* (whom I confesse in the typicall and Nationall state to be charged with both Tables) *I aske* whether the *Kings* of the *Assyrians*, the *Kings* of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Philistims*, were also constituted and ordained Keepers of the *worship* of *God* as the *Kings* of *Iudah* were (for they were also lawfull *Magistrates* in their *Dominions*?) or whether the *Roman Emperours* were *custodes*, or keepers more then they? or more then the *King* of *Babylon Nebuchadnezzar*, under whose Civill government *Gods* people lived, and in his owne Land and City, *Ier.* 29.

The Kings of the Assyrians &c. not charged with Gods worship as the Kings of Iudah in that Nationall and typicall church

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Peace. YOu remember (deare *Truth*) that *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and others were made to beleeve that they were the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Iudah*, the Church of *God*; and *Henry* the 8 was told that that Title *Defensor Fidei*, Defendour of the *Faith* (though sent him by the *Pope* for writing against *Luther*) was his owne *Diadem* due unto him from *Heaven*. So likewise since, the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* have been instructed.

Constantine, *Theodosius*. &c. misinformed.

Truth. But it was not so from the beginning, as that very difference between that Nationall state of the *Church* of *God* then, and other *Kings* and *Magistrates* of the *World* (not so charged) doth clearly evince and leadeth us to the *Spirituall King* of the *Church*, *Christ Iesus* the *King* of *Israel*, and his *Spirituall Government* and *Governours* therein.

Fifthly, I aske whether had the *Roman Cæsars* more charge to see all their Subjects observe and submit to the *worship* of *God* in their

Masters of families under the Gospel not charged to force all under him from their owne consciences to his.

their dominion of the *World*, then a *master*, *father* or *husband* now under the *Gospel* in his *Familie*?

Families are the *foundations* of *government*, for what is a *Commonweale*, but a *Commonweale* of *Families* agreeing to live together for common good?

Now in *families*, suppose a beleeving *Christian Husband* hath an unbeleeving *Antichristian Wife*, what other charge in this respect is given to an *husband*, 1 *Cor.*7. but to dwell with her as an husband if she be pleased to dwell with him: but, to bee so farre from forcing her from her conscience unto his, as that if for his conscience sake she would depart, he was not to force her to tarry with him, 1 *Cor.*7. Consequently the *Father* or *Husband* of the State differing from the *Commonweale* in *Religion*, ought not to force the *Commonweale*, nor to be forced by it: yet is he to continue a *civill husbands* care, if the *Commonweale* will live with him, and abide in *civill covenant*.

Now as a *husband* by his *love* to the *truth* and holy *conversation* in it, and seasonable *exhortations*, ought to indeavour to save his wife, yet abhorring to use *corporall compulsion* (yea, in this case to *childe* or *servant*) so ought the *Father*, *Husband*, *Governor* of the *Commonweale* endeavour to win and save whom possibly he may, yet farre from the appearance of *civill violence*.

If the charge of Gods worship was left with the Romane Emperour, then was he bound to turne the whole world into the Garden, Flock, and Spouse of Christ. Millions put to death.

Sixthly, if the *Romane Emperours* were charged by *Christ* with his *Worship* in their dominion, and their *dominion* was over the *world* (as was the *dominion* of the *Grecian*, *Persian*, and *Babylonian Monarchy* before them) who sees not if the whole world bee forced to turne *Christian* (as afterward and since it hath pretended to doe) who sees not then that the world (for whom Christ Jesus would not pray) and the *God* of it, are reconciled to *Jesus Christ*, and the whole *field* of the *world* become his inclosed *garden*?

Seventhly, if the *Romane Emperors* ought to have been by *Christs* appointment *Keepers* of both *Tables*, *Antitypes* of *Israel* and *Judahs Kings*, how many *millions* of *Idolaters* and *Blasphemers* against *Christ Jesus* and his worship ought they to have put to death according to Israels patterne?

Lastly, I aske (if the *Lord Jesus* had delivered his *Sheepe* and *Children* to these *Wolves*, his *Wife* and *Spouse* to such *Adulterers*, his precious *Jewels* to such great *Theeves* and *Robbers* of the *world* as the *Romane Emperours* were, what is the *reason* that he was never pleased

sed to send any of his *servants* to their *gates* to crave their *helpe* & *assistance* in this his worke, to put them in minde of their office, to chalenge and claime such a service from them according to their office, as it pleased God alwayes to send to the Kings of Israel and Judah in the like case?

Christ never sent any of his Ministers or Servants to the Civill Magistrate for help in spirituall matters.

Peace. Some will here object *Pauls* appealing to *Cæsar*.

Truth. And I must refer them to what I formerly answered to that Objection. *Paul* never appealed to *Cæsar* as a Judge appointed by Christ Jesus to give definitive sentence in any spirituall or Church controversie, but against that civill *violence* and *murther* which the *Jewes* intended against him, *Paul* justly appealed: For otherwise if in a *spirituall cause* he should have appealed, he should have overthrowne his owne *Apostleship* and *Power* given him by *Christ Jesus* in *spiritual* things, above the highest *Kings* or *Emperors* of the world beside.

CHAP. XC.

Peace. BLessed *Truth*, I shall now remember you of the fourth Quærie upon this place of *Timothy*, to wit, whether a Church of *Christ Iesus* may not live in *Gods worship* and comelinesse, notwithstanding that the *civill Magistrate* professe not the same but a contrary *Religion* and *Worship* in his owne person and the Country with him.

Christ Jesus hath left power in his Church to preserve her selfe pure, though in an idolatrous Countrey.

Truth. I answer the Churches of *Christ* under the *Roman Emperours* did live in all *godlinesse* and *christian* gravity, as appeares by all their holy and glorious practices, which the Scripture abundantly testifies.

Secondly, this flowes from an *institution* or *appointment* of such a *power* and *authority*, left by the *Lord Iesus* to his *Apostles* and *Churches*, that no ungodlinesse or dishonesty in the first appearance of it was to be suffered, but suppresst and cast out from the *Churches of Christ*, even the little Leaven of doctrine or practice, 1 *Corinth.* 5. *Gal.* 5.

Lastly, I adde, that although sometimes it pleaseth the *Lord* to vouchsafe his *servants peace* and *quietnesse*, and to command them here in *Timothy* to pray for it, for those good ends and purposes for which *God* hath appointed *civill Magistracy* in the *world*, to keepe the *world* in *peace* and *quietnesse*. Yet *Gods* people have used most to

Gods people have used to shine in brightest godlinesse when they have enjoyed least quietnes.

abound with *godlinesse* and *honesty*, when they have enjoyed least *peace* and *quietnesse*. Then like those *spices*, Cant. 4. *Myrrhe*, *Frankincense*, *Saffron*, *Calamus*, *&c.* they have yeelded the sweetest savour to *God* and man, when they were pounded and burnt in cruell *persecution* of the *Romane Censors*: then are they (as *Gods Venison*) most sweet when most hunted: *Gods* Stars shining brightest in the darkest night: more heavenly in *conversation*, more *mortified*: more abounding in *love* each to other, more longing to be with *God*: when the *inhospitable* and *salvage World* hath used them like *strangers*, and forced them to hasten home to another Country which they professe to seeke.

CHAP. XCI.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, it seemes not to be unseasonable to close up this *passage* with a short descant upon that *Assertion*, *viz.* "A *subject* without *godlinesse* will not be *bonus vir*, a good man, nor "a *Magistrate* except he see *godlinesse* preserved, will not be *bonus* "*Magistratus*.

Few Magistrates, few men spiritually and christianly good.

Truth. I confesse that without *godlinesse* or a true *worshipping* of *God* with an upright heart according to *Gods Ordinances*, neither *Subjects* nor *Magistrates* can please *God* in *Christ Iesus*, and so be spiritually or *christianly good*, which few *Magistrates* and few men either come to, or are ordained unto: *God* having chosen a little *flock* out of the world, and those generally poore and meane, 1 *Cor.* 1. *Iam.* 2. Yet this I must remember you of, that when the most *High God* created *all things* of *nothing*, he saw and acknowledged divers sorts of *goodnesse*, which must still be acknowledged in their distinct kindes: a good *Ayre*, a good *Ground*, a good *Tree*, a good *Sheepe*, *&c.*

Yet divers sorts of goodnesse naturall, artificiall, civill, &c.

I say the same in Artificialls, a good *Garment*, a good *House*, a good *Sword*, a good *Ship*.

I also adde a good *City*, a good *Company* or *Corporation*, a good *Husband*, *Father*, *Master*.

Hence also we say, a good *Physitian*, a good *Lawyer*, a good *Sea-man*, a good *Merchant*, a good *Pilot*, for such or such a *shoare* or *Harbour*, that is, Morally, Civilly good in their severall *Civill respects* and imployments.

Hence (*Psal.* 133.) the *Church* or Citie of *God* is compared to a *City*

a *Citie* compact within it selfe; which compactnes may be found in many *Townes* and *Cities* of the *world*, where yet hath not shined any spirituall or supernaturall *goodnesse*. Hence the *Lord Jesus* (*Matth.*12.) describes an ill state of an *house* or *kingdome*, viz. to be divided against it selfe, which cannot stand.

These I observe to prove, that a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*, may be a good *Subject*, a good *Magistrate*, in respect of *civill* or *morall goodnes*, which thousands want, and where it is, it is commendable and beautifull, though *Godlines* which is infinitely more beautifull, be wanting, and which is onely proper to the *Christian state*, the *Commonweale* of *Israel*, the true *Church*, the holy *Nation*, Ephes.2. 1 Pet.2.

The Civill Goodnes of Cities, Kingdomes, Subjects, Magistrates, must be owned, although Spirituall goodnes (proper to the Christian State or Church) be wanting.

Lastly, however the *Authors* deny that there can be *Bonus Magistratus*, a good Magistrate, except he see all *Godlines* preserved; yet themselves confesse that *civill honesty* is sufficient to make a good *Subject*, in these words, viz. He must see that *Honestie* be preserved within his *jurisdiction*, else the *Subject* will not be *Bonus civis*, a good *citizen*: and doubtlesse (if the *Law* of *Relations* hold true) that *civill* honestie which makes a good *citizen*, must also (together with qualifications fit for a Commander) make also a good *Magistrate*.

CHAP. XCII.

Peace. THe 4. head is, The proper meanes of both these Powers to attaine their ends.

"First, the proper meanes whereby the Civill Power may and "should attaine its end, are onely Politicall, and principally "these Five.

"First the erecting and establishing what forme of Civill Go-"vernment may seeme in wisedome most meet, according to ge-"nerall rules of the Word, and state of the people.

"Secondly, the making, publishing, and establishing of whole-"some Civill Lawes, not only such as concerne Civill Justice, but "also the free passage of true Religion: for, outward Civill Peace "ariseth and is maintained from them both, from the latter as well "as from the former:

"Civill peace cannot stand intire, where Religion is corrupted, "2 *Chron.*15.3.5.6. *Judg.* 8. And yet such Lawes, though conver-

sant

" ſant about Religion, may ſtill be counted Civill Lawes, as on the " contrary, an Oath doth ſtill remaine Religious, though conver- " ſant about Civill matters.

" Thirdly, Election and appointment of Civill officers, to ſee " execution of thoſe Lawes.

" Fourthly, Civill Puniſhments and Rewards, of Tranſgreſſors " and Obſervers of theſe Lawes.

" Fifthly, taking up Armes againſt the Enemies of Civill Peace.

" Secondly, the meanes whereby the Church may and ſhould " attaine her ends, are only eccleſiaſticall, which are chiefly five.

" Firſt, ſetting up that forme of Church Goverment only, of " which Chriſt hath given them a pattern in his Word.

" Secondly, acknowledging and admitting of no Lawgiver in " the Church, but Chriſt, and the publiſhing of his Lawes.

" Thirdly, Electing and ordaining of ſuch officers onely, as " Chriſt hath appointed in his Word.

" Fourthly, to receive into their fellowſhip them that are ap- " proved, and inflicting Spirituall cenſures againſt them that " offend.

" Fifthly, Prayer and patience in ſuffering any evill from them " that be without, who diſturbe their peace.

" So that Magiſtrates, as Magiſtrates, have no power of ſetting " up the Forme of Church Government, electing Church officers, " puniſhing with Church cenſures, but to ſee that the Church doth " her duty herein. And on the other ſide, the Churches as Churches, " have no power (though as members of the Common- " weale they may have power) of erecting or altering formes of " Civill Government, electing of Civill officers, inflicting Civill " puniſhments (no not on perſons excommunicate) as by depoſing " Magiſtrates from their Civill Authoritie, or withdrawing the " hearts of the people againſt them, to their Lawes, no more then " to diſcharge wives, or children, or ſervants, from due obedience " to their husbands, parents, or maſters: or by taking up armes " againſt their Magiſtrates, though he perſecute them for Conſci- " ence: for though members of Churches who are publique offi- " cers alſo of the Civill State, may ſuppreſſe by force the violence " of Uſurpers, as *Jehoiada* did *Athaliah*, yet this they doe not as " members of the Church, but as officers of the Civill State.

Truth.

Truth. Here are divers considerable *passages* which I shall briefly examine, so fat as concernes our *controversie.*

First, whereas they say, that the *Civill Power* may erect and establish what *forme* of *civill Government* may seeme in *wisedome* most meet, I acknowledge the *proposition* to be most true, both in it self, and also considered with the end of it, that a *civill Government* is an *Ordinance* of *God*, to conserve the *civill peace* of people, so farre as concernes their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as formerly hath beene said.

But from this *Grant* I infer, (as before hath been touched) that the *Soveraigne, originall*, and *foundation* of *civill power* lies in the *people*, (whom they must needs meane by the *civill power* distinct from the *Government* set up.) And if so, that a People may erect and establish what *forme* of *Government* seemes to them most meete for their *civill condition*: It is evident that such *Governments* as are by them erected and established, have no more *power*, nor for no longer time, then the *civill power* or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in *Reason*, but in the experience of all *common-weales*, where the people are not deprived of their *naturall freedome* by the power of *Tyrants*.

Civill power originally and fundamentally in the people.

And if so, that the Magistrates receive their power of governing the Church, from the People; undeniably it followes, that a *people*, as a *people*, naturally considered (of what *Nature* or *Nation* soever in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* or *America*) have fundamentally and originally, as men, a power to governe the *Church*, to see her doe her *duty*, to correct her, to redresse, reforme, establish, &c. And if this be not to pull *God* and *Christ*, and *Spirit* out of *Heaven*, and subject them unto *naturall*, sinfull, inconstant men, and so consequently to *Sathan* himselfe, by whom all *peoples* naturally are guided, let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge.

Mr. Cotton and the New-English Ministers give the Government of Christs Church or Spouse into the hands of the people or Common-weale.

Peace. It cannot by their owne *Grant* be denied, but that the *wildest Indians* in *America* ought (and in their kind and severall degrees doe) to agree upon some *formes* of *Government*, some more *civill*, compact in Townes, &c. some lesse. As also that their *civill* and *earthly Governments* be as lawfull and true as any *Governments* in the *World*, and therefore consequently their *Governors* are *Keepers* of the *Church* or both *Tables*, (if any Church of Christ should arise or be amongst them:) and therefore lastly, (if *Christ* have betrusted and charged the *civill* Power with his *Church*) they must

The very Indian Americans made Governours of the Church by the Authors of these Positions.

judge according to their *Indian* or *American consciences*, for other *consciences* it cannot be supposed they should have.

CHAP. XCIII.

Truth. AGaine, whereas they say that outward Civill peace cannot stand where *Religion* is corrupted; and quote for it, 2 *Chron.*15.3.5.6 & *Judges* 8.

I answer with *admiration* how such excellent *spirits* (as these *Authors* are furnished with, not only in heavenly but earthly affaires) should so forget, and be so fast asleep in things so palpably evident, as to say that outward *civill* peace cannot stand, where *Religion* is corrupt. When so many stately *Kingdomes* and *Governments* in the *world* have long and long enjoyed *civill* peace and quiet, notwithstanding their *Religion* is so corrupt, as that there is not the very Name of *Jesus Christ* amongst them: And this every *Historian, Merchant, Traveller*, in *Europe, Asia, Africa, America*, can testifie: for so spake the *Lord Jesus* himselfe, *Joh.*16. The *world* shall sing and rejoyce.

Many Civill States in flourishing peace and quiet, where the Lord Jesus is not founded.

Secondly, for that Scripture 2 *Chron.*15.3 &c relating the miseries of *Israel* and *Judah*, and *Gods* plagues upon that people for corruption of their *Religion*, it must still have reference to that peculiar state unto which *God* called the seed of one man, *Abraham*, in a *figure*, dealing so with them as he dealt not with any Nation in the World, *Psal.*147 *Rom.*9.

The *Antitype* to this State I have proved to be the *Christian Church*, which consequently hath been and is afflicted with spirituall *plagues*, *desolations* and *captivities*, for corrupting of that *Religion* which hath been revealed unto them. This appeares by the 7 *Churches*, and the people of *God*, now so many hundred yeares in wofull *bondage* and slaverie to the mysticall *Babel*, until the time of their joyfull *deliverance*.

Peace. Yea but they say that such *Lawes* as are conversant about *Religion*, may still be accounted *Civill Lawes*, as on the contrary an Oath doth still remaine *Religious*, though conversant about *Civill* matters.

Lawes concerning Religion, either Religious,

Truth. Lawes respecting *Religion* are two-fold:

First, such as concerne the *acts* of *Worship* and the *Worship* it self, the *Ministers* of it, their *fitnes* or *unfitnes*, to be suppressed or established:

bliſhed: and for ſuch Lawes we find no footing in the New *Teſtament* of Jeſus Chriſt.

Secondly, *Lawes* reſpecting *Religion* may be ſuch as meerly concerne the *Civill State*, *Bodies* and *Goods* of ſuch and ſuch perſons, profeſſing theſe and theſe *Religions*, viz. that ſuch and ſuch perſons, notorious for *Mutinies*, *Treaſons*, *Rebellions*, *Maſſacres*, be diſarmed: Againe, that no perſons *Papiſts*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, or *Indians* be diſturbed at their *worſhip*, (a thing which the very *Indians* abhor to practice toward any.) Alſo that *imanitie* and *freedome* from *Tax* and *Toll* may be granted unto the people of ſuch or ſuch a *Religion*, as the *Magiſtrate* pleaſeth, *Ezra* 7. or Civill.

The very Indians abhor to diſturbe any Conſcience at Worſhip.

Theſe and ſuch as are of this nature, concerning only the *bodies* and *goods* of ſuch and ſuch *Religions perſons*, I confeſſe are meerely Civill.

But now on the other hand, that *Lawes* reſtraining perſons from ſuch and ſuch a *Worſhip*, becauſe the *Civill ſtate* judgeth it to be falſe:

That *Laws* conſtraining to ſuch & ſuch a *worſhip*, becauſe the *Civill State* judgeth this to be the only true way of worſhipping *God*:

That ſuch and ſuch a *Reformation* of *Worſhip* be ſubmitted unto by all Subjects in ſuch a *Juriſdiction*:

That ſuch and ſuch *Churches*, *Miniſters*, *Miniſtries* be pull'd downe, and ſuch and ſuch *Churches*, *Miniſtries*, and *Miniſtrations* ſet up:

Canons and Conſtitutions pretended Civill, but indeed Eccleſiaſticall.

That ſuch *Lawes* properly concerning *Religion*, *God*, the *Soules* of men, ſhould be *Civill Lawes* and *Conſtitutions*; is as far from *Reaſon*, as that the *Commandements* of *Paul*, which he gave the *Churches* concerning *Chriſts worſhip* (1 *Cor.* 11. & 1 *Cor.* 14.) were *Civill* and *Earthly conſtitutions*: Or that the *Canon* and *Conſtitutions* of either *œcumenicall* or *Nationall* Synods concerning *Religion*, ſhould be *Civill* and *State-concluſions* and agreements.

To that inſtance of an *Oath* remaining *religious* though converſant about *civill things*; I anſwer and acknowledge, an *Oath* may be ſpirituall, though taken about earthly *buſineſſe*, and accordingly it will prove, and onely prove what before I have ſaid, that a *Law* may be civill though it concerne perſons of this and of that *religion*, that is as the *perſons* profeſſing it are concerned in *civill reſpects* of *bodies* or *goods*, as I have opened; whereas if it concerne the ſoules and religions of men ſimply ſo conſidered in reference to *God*, it

Laws meerely concerning ſpirituall things, muſt needs be ſpirituall.

must of necessity put on the nature of a *religious* or *spirituall ordinance* or *constitution*.

Beside, it is a most improper and fallacious instance for an *oath*, being an *invocation* of a true or false *God* to judge in a case, is an action of a *spirituall* and *religious nature*, what ever the *subject* matter be about which it is taken, whether *civill* or *religious*: but a *law* or *constitution* may be *civill* or *religious*, as the *subject* about which it is *conversant* is, either *civill* (meerly concerning *bodies* or *goods*) or *religious* concerning *soule* and *worship*.

CHAP. XCIV.

Peace. THeir fifth Head is concerning the Magistrates power in making of Lawes.

"First, they have power to publish and apply such Civill Lawes "in a State as either are expresst in the Word of God in *Moses* Ju- "dicialls (to wit, so far as they are of generall and morall equity, "and so binding all Nations in all Ages) to bee deducted by way "of generall consequence and proportion from the word of God.

"For in a free State no Magistrate hath power over the bodies, "goods, lands, liberties of a free people, but by their free consents. "And because free men are not free Lords of their owne estates, "but are onely stewards under God, therefore they may not give "their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose of their bodies, "goods, lands, liberties at large as themselves please, but as God (the "soveraigne Lord of all) alone. And because the Word is a perfect "rule as wel of righteousnes as of holines, it will be therfore neces- "sary that neither the people give consent, nor that the Magistrate "take power to dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the "people, but according to the Lawes and Rules of the Word of "God.

"Secondly, in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things "about the Commonweale.

"First, he hath no power given him of God to make what laws "he please, either in restraining from, or constraining to the use of "indifferent things, because that which is indifferent in its nature, "may sometimes bee inexpedient in its use, and consequently un- "lawfull, 1 *Cor.* 2 5. it having been long since defended upon good "ground, *Quicquid non expedit, quatenus non expedit, non licet.*

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"different things, wherein nothing good or evill is ſhewne to the
"people, but onely or principally the meere authority or wil of the
"impoſer for the obſervance of them, *Coloſ.* 2.21,22. 1 *Cor.*7.23,
"compared with *Epheſ.*6.6.

"It is a prerogative proper to God to require obedience of the
"ſonnes of men, becauſe of his authority and will.

"The will of no man is *Regula recti*, unleſſe firſt it bee *Regula*
"*recta*.

"It is an evill ſpeech of ſome, that in ſome things the will of the
"Law, not the *ratio* of it, muſt be the Rule of Conſcience to walke
"by; and that Princes may forbid men to ſeeke any other reaſon
"but their authority, yea when they command *frivola & dura*. And
"therefore it is the duty of the Magiſtrate in all lawes about indif-
"ferent things, to ſhew the Reaſons, not onely the Will, to ſhew
"the expediency, as well as the indifferency of things of that na-
"ture.

"For we conceive in Lawes of this nature, it is not the will of
"the Lawgiver onely, but the Reaſon of the Law which bindes.
"*Ratio eſt Rex Legis, & Lex eſt Rex Regis.*

"Thirdly, becauſe the judgement of expedient and inexpedient
"things is often difficult and diverſe, it is meet that ſuch Lawes
"ſhould not proceed without due conſideration of the Rules
"of Expediency ſet downe in the Word, which are theſe
"three:

"Firſt, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of
"God, 1 *Cor.*10.31.

"Secondly, the rule of Charity, that no ſcandall come hereby to
"any weake brother, 1 *Cor.*8.13.

"Thirdly, the Rule of Charity, that no man be forced to ſubmit
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"of lawfull *Authority*, becauſe he is not ſuddenly perſwaded of the
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"*dient Expedient*; but *Chriſt* ſaith the contrary, If the *blinde* lead the
"*blinde*, they ſhall both fall.

Truth. In this passage these worthy Men lay downe such a *ground*, as the *gates* of *Hell* are not able to shake concerning the *Magistrates* walking in indifferent things: And upon which *ground* that *Towre* of *Lebanon* may be raised whereon there hang a thousand *shields* and *bucklars*, *Cant* 4. to wit, that invincible *Truth*, That no man is to be *persecuted* for cause of *conscience*: The ground is this: The *Magistrate* hath not *power* to make what *Lawes* he pleale, either in *restraining* or *constraining* to the use of indifferent things: And further he confesseth that the *reason* of the *Law*, not the *will* of it must be the rule of conscience. And they adde this impregnable reason: viz. "If the people be bound to receive "such Lawes without satisfaction to conscience, then one can- "not be punished for following the other, in case he shall sinne "contrary to Christ Jesus, who saith, If the blinde lead the blinde, "they shall both fall.

The Authors large confession of the liberty of conscience from the Laws of Civill authority in spirituall cases.

Hence I argue, If the *Civill Magistrate* have no power to *restraine* or *constraine* their *subjects* in things in their owne nature indifferent, as in eating of *meats*, wearing this or that *garment*, using this or that *gesture*, but that they are bound to try and examine his *commands*, and satisfie their owne *reason*, *conscience* and *judgement* before the *Lord*, and that they shall sinne, if they follow the *Magistrates* command, not being perswaded in their owne soule and conscience that his commands are according to *God*! It will be much more unlawfull and heynous in the *Magistrate* to compell the subjects unto that which (according to their *consciences* perswasion) is simply unlawfull as unto a falsely constituted *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, *Administration*, and they shall not escape the Dutch, by being led blindefold by the Magistrate, but though hee fall in first, yet they shall in after him, and upon him, to his greater and more dreadfull judgement.

Civill Magistrates confessed not to have power to urge the conscience in indifferent things.

In particular thus, If the Magistrate may restraine me from that gesture in the Supper of the Lord, which I am perswaded I ought to practice, he may also restraine me by his commands from that Supper of the Lord it selfe in such or such a Church according to my conscience.

If he cannot (as they grant) constraine me to such or such a garment in the worship of God, can he constraine me to worship God by such a Ministry, and with such worship, which my soule and conscience cannot be perswaded is of God?

If

If he cannot command me in that circumstance of time to worship God this or that day, can he command mee to the worship it selfe?

Peace. Me thinkes I discerne a threefold guilt to lye upon such Civill powers as impose upon and inforce the conscience, though not unto the ministration and participation of the Seales, yet either to depart from that worship which it is perswaded of, or to any exercise or worship which it hath not faith in.

A threefold guilt lying upon Civill powers commanding the subjects soules in worship.

First, of an appearance of that Arminian Popish doctrine of freewill, as if it lay in their owne power and ability to beleeve upon the Magistrates command since it is confessed that what is submitted to by any without faith it is sinne, be it never so true and holy *Rom.* 14.

Secondly, since God only openeth the heart and worketh the will, *Phil.* 2. it seemes to be an high presumption to suppose that together with a command restraining from, or constraining to worship, that God is also to be forced or commanded to give faith to open the heart to incline the will, &c.

Thirdly, A guilt of the hypocrisie of their subjects and people in forcing them to act and practice in matters of Religion and Worship against the doubts and checks of their consciences, causing their bodies to worship, when their soules are far off, to draw near with their lips, their hearts being far off, &c.

Persons may with lesse sin be forced to marry whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleeve.

With lesse sinne ten thousand fold may a naturall Father force his daughter, or the Father of the Commonweale force all the maydens in a Country to the marriage beds of such and such men whom they cannot love, then the soules of these and other subjects to such worship or Ministry, which is either a true or false, because *Cant.* 1.16.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, your conclusions are undeniable, and O that they might sinke deep into those Noble and Honourable Bosomes it so deeply concernes! but proceed.

CHAP. XCV.

Peace. IN that fifth head they further say thus:

"Thirdly, in matters Ecclesiasticall we beleeve, first, "That Civill Magistrates have no power to make or constitute "Lawes about Church affaires which the Lord Jesus hath not or-

"dained

Truth. In this passage these worthy Men lay downe such a *ground*, as the *gates* of *Hell* are not able to shake concerning the *Magistrates* walking in indifferent things: And upon which *ground* that *Towre* of *Lebanon* may be raised whereon there hang a thousand *shields* and *bucklars*, *Cant* 4. to wit, that invincible *Truth*, That no man is to be *persecuted* for cause of *conscience*: The ground is this: The *Magistrate* hath not *power* to make what *Lawes* he please, either in *restraining* or *constraining* to the use of indifferent things: And further he confesseth that the *reason* of the *Law*, not the *will* of it must be the rule of conscience. And they adde this impregnable reason: viz. "If the people be bound to receive "such Lawes without satisfaction to conscience, then one can- "not be punished for following the other, in case he shall sinne "contrary to Christ Jesus, who saith, If the blinde lead the blinde, "they shall both fall.

The Authors large confession of the liberty of conscience from the Laws of Civill authority in spirituall cases.

Hence I argue, If the *Civill Magistrate* have no power to *restraine* or *constraine* their *subjects* in things in their owne nature indifferent, as in eating of *meats*, wearing this or that *garment*, using this or that *gesture*, but that they are bound to try and examine his *commands*, and satisfie their owne *reason*, *conscience* and *judgement* before the *Lord*, and that they shall sinne, if they follow the *Magistrates* command, not being perswaded in their owne soule and conscience that his commands are according to *God*! It will be much more unlawfull and heynous in the *Magistrate* to compell the subjects unto that which (according to their *consciences* perswasion) is simply unlawfull as unto a falsely constituted *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, *Administration*, and they shall not escape the Ditch, by being led blindefold by the Magistrate, but though hee fall in first, yet they shall in after him, and upon him, to his greater and more dreadfull judgement.

Civill Magistrates confessed not to have power to urge the conscience in indifferent things.

In particular thus, If the Magistrate may restraine me from that gesture in the Supper of the Lord, which I am perswaded I ought to practice, he may also restraine me by his commands from that Supper of the Lord it selfe in such or such a Church according to my conscience.

If he cannot (as they grant) constraine me to such or such a garment in the worship of God, can he constraine me to worship God by such a Ministry, and with such worship, which my soule and conscience cannot be perswaded is of God?

If

If he cannot command me in that circumstance of time to worship God this or that day, can he command mee to the worship it selfe?

Peace. Me thinkes I discerne a threefold guilt to lye upon such Civill powers as impose upon and inforce the conscience, though not unto the ministration and participation of the Seales, yet either to depart from that worship which it is perswaded of, or to any exercise or worship which it hath not faith in.

A threefold guilt lying upon Civill powers commanding the subjects soule in worship.

First, of an appearance of that Arminian Popish doctrine of Freewill, as if it lay in their owne power and ability to beleeve upon the Magistrates command since it is confessed that what is submitted to by any without faith it is sinne, be it never so true and holy *Rom.* 14.

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Truth. Sweet *Peace*, your conclusions are undeniable, and O that they might sinke deep into those Noble and Honourable Bosomes it so deeply concernes! but proceed.

CHAP. XCV.

Peace. IN that fifth head they further say thus:

"Thirdly, in matters Ecclesiasticall we beleeve, first, "That Civill Magistrates have no power to make or constitute "Lawes about Church affaires which the Lord Jesus hath not ordained

"dained in his Word for the well ordering of the Church; for
"the Apoſtle ſolemnely chargeth *Timothy*, and in him all
"Goverours of the Church, before God and the Lord
"Jeſus Chriſt (who is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and
"Lord of Lords) that the Commandement given by him for the
"ordering of the Church be kept without ſpot unrebukeable to
"the appearing of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 *Tim.*6.14.15. And
"this Commandement given in the Word, the Apoſtle ſaith is able
"to make the man of God perfect in all Righteouſneſſe, 2 *Tim.*3.
"17. And indeed the adminſtration of all Chriſts affaires doth im-
"mediately aime at ſpirituall and divine ends (as the worſhip of
"God and the ſalvation of mens ſoules:) and therefore no Law
"nor meanes can be deviſed by the wiſdome or wit of man that
"can be fit or able to reach ſuch ends, but uſe muſt be made of ſuch
"onely as the divine Wiſdome and holy Will of God hath or-
"dained.

"Secondly, We beleeve the Magiſtrates power in making
"Lawes about Church affaires, is not only thus limited and reſtra-
"ned by Chriſt to matters which concerne the ſubſtance of Gods
"worſhip and of Church government, but alſo ſuch as concerne
"outward order, as in Rites and Ceremonies for uniformities ſake.
"For we finde not in the Goſpell that Chriſt hath any where pro-
"vided for the uniformity of Churches, but onely for their unity.

"*Paul* in matters of Chriſtian libertie commendeth the unity of
"their Faith in the holy Spirit, giving order that wee ſhould not
"judge nor condemne one another in difference of judgement and
"practice of ſuch things where men live to God on both ſides, e-
"ven though there were ſome errour on one ſide, *Rom.* 14. to the 6.
"How much leſſe in things indifferent, where there may be no er-
"rour on either ſide.

"When the Apoſtle directeth the Church of Corinth that all
"things be done decently and in order, he meant not to give po-
"wer to Church Officers, or to Civill Magiſtrates to order what-
"ever they ſhould thinke meet for decencie and order; but only
"to provide that all the Ordinances of God be adminiſtred in the
"Church decently without unnaturall or uncivill uncomelineſſe
"(as that of long haire, or womens prophetying, or the like) and
"orderly without confuſion or diſturbance of edification, as the
"ſpeaking of many at once in the Church.

"Thirdly,

"Thirdly, we doe nevertheleſſe willingly grant that Magi-
"ſtrates upon due and diligent ſearch what is the counſell and will
"of God in his Word concerning the right ordering of the Church,
"may and ought to publiſh and declare, eſtabliſh and ratifie ſuch
"Lawes and Ordinances as Chriſt hath appointed in his Word for
"the well ordering of Church affaires, both for the gathering of
"the Church, and the right adminiſtration of all the Ordinances of
"God amongſt them in ſuch a manner as the Lord hath appointed
"to edification. The Law of *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7.23. was not
"uſurpation over the Churches liberty, but a Royall and juſt con-
"firmation of them: Whatſoever is commanded by the God of
"Heaven: For why ſhould there be wrath againſt the King and
"his Sonnes?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, me thinkes I ſee before mine eyes a *wall* daubed up (of which *Ezekiel* ſpeakes) with untempered *morter*: Here they reſtraine the *Magiſtrate* from making *Lawes* either concerning the ſubſtance or *ceremony* of *Religion*, but ſuch only as *Chriſt* hath commanded, and thoſe, ſay they, they muſt publiſh and declare after the example of *Artaxerxes*.

I ſhall herein performe two things: Firſt, examine this *Magiſtrates* duty to publiſh, declare, &c. ſuch Laws and Ordinances as *Chriſt* hath appointed.

Secondly, I ſhall examine that proofe from *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7.23.

In the firſt, me thinks I heare the voice of the people of *Iſrael*, 1 *Sam.* 8.5. Make us a *King* that may rule over us after the manner of the *Nations*, rejecting the *Lord* ruling over them by his holy Word in the mouth of his *Prophets*, and ſheltring themſelves under an Arme of *Fleſh*; which Arme of *Fleſh God* gave them in His *Anger*, and cut off againe in His *Wrath*, after he had perſecuted *David* the figure of *Chriſt Jeſus* who hath given his people the *Scepter* and *Sword* of his *Word* and *Spirit*, and refuſed a temporall *Crowne* or *Weapons* in the diſpenſation of his *Kingdome*. Gods Iſrael deſirous of *Sauls* arme of fleſh.

Where did the Lord Jeſus or his Meſſengers charge the Civill Magiſtrate, or direct Chriſtians to petition him, to publiſh, declare or eſtabliſh by his Arme of Fleſh and Earthly weapons the Religion and worſhip of Chriſt Jeſus?

I finde the Beaſt and falſe Prophet (whoſe riſe and doctrine is not from Heaven, but from the Sea and Earth) dreadfull and ter-

rible by a Civill Sword and dignitie, *Rev*,13.2.

The 7 headed Beast, and the Lambe differ in their weapons.

I find the Beast hath gotten the power and might of the Kings of the Earth, *Revel*.17.13.

But the Lambes weapons are Spiritually mighty, 2 *Cor*. 10. &c. his Sword is two-edged comming out of his *mouth*, Revel. 1. His *preparations* for *War* are *white Horses* and *white Harnesse*, which are confest by all to be of a *spirituall nature*, Revel.19.

Naboths case typicall.

When that *whore Jesabel* stabbed *Naboth* with her Pen, in stirring up the people to stone him as a *Blasphemer* of *God* and the *King*, what a glorious maske or vaile of *Holines* put she on? Proclaime a *Fast*, set a day apart for *humiliation*; and for *confirmation*, let all be ratified with the *Kings* Authoritie, Name, and Seale, 1 *Kings*, 21. 8.

Was not this recorded for all *Gods Naboths*, standing for their Spirituall interests in heavenly things (typed out by the typicall earth and ground of *Canaans* land) that they through patience and Comfort of the Scriptures might have hope, *Rom*. 15 4.?

Againe, I demand who shall here sit Judge, whether the Magistrate command any other Substance or Ceremonie but what is Christs?

By their former Conclusions, every Soule must judge what the Magistrate commandeth, and is not bound, even in indifferent things, to the Magistrates Law, further then his own Soule, Conscience and judgement ascends to the Reason of it: Here the Magistrate must make Lawes for that Substance and Ceremony which Christ appointed: But yet he must not doe this with his eyes open, but blindfold and hoodwinkt; for if he judge that to be the *Religion* of *Christ*, and such to be the order there in which their *Consciences* judge otherwise, and assent not to, they professe they must submit only to *Christs lawes*, and therefore they are not bound to obey him.

Civill Powers abused as a Guard about the Bed of Spirituall whoredomes.

Oh what is this but to make use of the *Civill Powers* and *Governours* of the *World*, as a *Guard* about the Spirituall *Bed* of Soule-whoredomes, in which the *Kings* of the *Earth* commit Spirituall *fornication* with the great *Whore*, Rev.17. 2.? as a Guard while the Inhabitants of the Earth are drinking themselves drunke with the wine of her fornication.

But oh what terrifyings, what allurings are in *Jeremies* Curse and Blessing! *Jer*.17. Curled is the man that trusteth in man, that maketh

keth Fleſh his Arme (too too common in ſpirituall matters) and whoſe heart departeth from Jehovah: He ſhall be as an Heath in the Wildernes (even in the ſpirituall and myſticall wildernes) and ſhall not ſee when comfort comes, but ſhall abide in drouth in the wilderneſſe in a barren land, &c.

CHAP. XCVI.

Peace. O What myſteries are theſe to Fleſh and Blood! how hard for fleſh to forſake the Arme thereof! But paſſe on (deare *Truth*) to their proofe propounded, *Ezra* 7.23. wherein *Artaxerxes* confirmed by Law what ever was commanded by the *God* of Heaven.

Truth. In this Scripture I mind firſt the people of God captivated under the *dominion* and government of the *Kings* of *Babel* and *Perſia*. Ezra 7.23. diſcuſſed.

Secondly, *Artaxerxes* his favour to theſe Captives,

1. Of *freedome* to their *Conſciences*.
2. Of *bountie* towards them.
3. Of exempting of ſome of them from common charges.

Thirdly, *Puniſhments* on offenders.

Fourthly, the *ground* that caries him on to all this.

Fifthly, *Ezra* praiſing of *God* for putting this into the heart of the *King*.

Concerning the people of *God* the *Jewes*, they were as *Lambes* and *Sheep* in the jawes of the *Lyon*, the dearely beloved of his Soule under the devouring *Tyrants* of the World, both the *Babylonian* and the *Perſian*, farre from their owne *Nation*, and the *Government* of their own anointed *Kings*, the *figures* of the true *King* of the *Jewes* the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. Gods people not ſubject to the Kings of Babell or Perſia in Spirituals.

In this reſpect it is cleere, that the *Jewes* were no more ſubject to the *Kings* of *Babylon* and *Perſia* in Spirituall things, then the *Veſſels* of the *Sanctuary* were ſubject to the *King* of *Babels* uſe, *Dan.* 5.

Concerning this *King* I conſider, firſt his perſon, a *Gentile Idolater*, an oppreſſing *Tyrant*, one of thoſe devouring *Beaſts*, Dan. 7. & 8. An hand of bloody *Conqueſt* ſet the Crown upon the head of theſe *Monarchs*; and although in *Civill* things they might challenge ſubjection, yet why ſhould they now ſit down in the throne of

of *Israel*, and governe the people and *Church* of *God* in Spirituall things?

Tyrants hearts sometimes wonderfully mollified towards Gods people.

Secondly, consider his acts of Favour, and they will not amount to a positive Command, that any of the *Iewes* should goe up to build the *Temple*, nor that any of them should practice his own *worship*, which he kept and judged the best for his owne Soule and People.

'Tis true, he freely permits them, and exerciseth a bounteous *assistance* to them: All which argues no more, but that sometimes it pleaseth *God* to open the hearts of *Tyrants* greatly to favour and further his people. Such favour found *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*, and others of *Gods* people have and shall finde, so often as it pleaseth Him to honour them that honour Him, before the Sonnes of Men.

Peace. Who sees not how little this Scripture contributes to their *Tenent?* but why (say some) should this *King* confirme all with such severe punishments? and why for all this should *Ezra* give thankes to *God*, if it were not imitable for after-times?

Truth. The Law of *God* which he confirmed, he knew not, and therefore neither was, nor could he be a Judge in the Case.

And for his Ground, what was it but the common *terrours* and *convictions* of an affrighted Conscience?

Nabuchadnezzar, Darius, and Artaxerxes their decrees examined.

In such fits and *pangs*, what have not *Pharaohs*, *Sauls*, *Ahabs*, *Herods*, *Agrippa's* spoken? and what wonderfull decrees have *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes* put forth concerning the *God* of *Israel*, Dan. 3. & 6. & Ezra 1 & 7 &c. and yet as farre from being charged with (as they were from being affected to) the Spirituall Crown of Governing the Worship of God, and the Conscience of his people.

Ezra's thanksgiving for the Kings decree examined.

Tis true, *Ezra* most piously and justly gave thankes to God for putting such a thing into the heart of the King: But what makes this pattern for the Laws of Civill Governours now under the Gospell? It suited well with that Nationall state of Gods Church, that the Gentile King should release them, permit them to returne to their own Land, assist them with other favours, and enable them to execute punishments upon offenders according to their Nationall State.

But

But did God put ſuch a thing as this into the heart of the King, viz. to reſtraine upon paine of Death all the millions of men under his Dominion from the Idolatries of their ſeverall and reſpective Countries? to conſtraine them all upon the like penaltie to conforme to the Worſhip of the God of Iſrael, to build him a Temple, erect an Altar, ordaine Prieſts, offer ſacrifice, obſerve the Faſts and Feaſts of Iſrael? yea did God put it into the Kings heart to ſend Levites into all the parts of his Dominion, compelling them to heare; which is but a naturall thing (as ſome unſoundly ſpeake) unto which all are bound to ſubmit?

Well however, *Ezra* gives thankes to God for the *King*; and ſo ſhould all that feare God in all Countries, if he would pleaſe to put it into the hearts of the Kings, States and Parliaments, to take off the yoakes of Violence, and permit (at leaſt) the Conſciences of their Subjects, and eſpecially ſuch as in truth make Conſcience of their Worſhips to the God of Iſrael: and yet no cauſe for *Ezra* then, or Gods *Eſra's* and Iſraelites now, to acknowledge the care and charge of Gods worſhip, Church and Ordinances, to lie upon the ſhoulders of *Artaxerxes*, or any other Civill Prince or Ruler.

The duty of all Civill States toward the Conſciences of their Subjects.

Laſtly for the Confirmation or Ratification which they ſuppoſe Magiſtrates are bound to give to the Lawes of Chriſt, I anſwer, Gods cauſe, Chriſts Truth, and the two-edged ſword of his Word, never ſtood in need of a temporall Sword, or an humane Witnes to confirme and ratifie them. If we receive the witneſſe of an honeſt man, the witneſſe of the moſt holy God is greater, 1 *John* 5.

Chriſt needs no humane confirmation.

The reſult and ſumme of the whole matter is this: 1. It may pleaſe *God* ſometimes to ſtir up the *Rulers* of the Earth to permit and tolerate, to favour and countenance *Gods* people in their *worſhips*, though only out of ſome ſtrong conviction of *conſcience* or *feare* of *wrath*, &c. and yet themſelves neither underſtand *Gods* worſhip, nor leave their owne ſtate, Idolatry or Country worſhip.

The ſum of the Examples of Gentile Kings decreeing for Gods Worſhip in Scripture.

For this *Gods* people ought to give thankes unto *God*; yea and all men from this example may learne not to charge upon the *Magiſtrates* conſcience (beſides the care of the *Civill peace*, the bodies and goods of men) the Spirituall peace in the worſhip of *God* and *ſoules* of men: but hence are *Magiſtrates* inſtructed favourably to permit their ſubjects in their *worſhips*, although themſelves bee not

not perſwaded to ſubmit to them, as *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* did.

CHAP. XCVII.

Peace. THe ſixt queſtion is this: How far the *Church* is ſubject to their Lawes?

"All thoſe (ſay they) who are members of the Commonweale "are bound to be ſubject to all the juſt and righteous Laws there-"of, and therefore (membership in Churches not cutting men off "from membership in commonweales) they are bound to be ſub-"ject, even every ſoule, *Rom.*13.1. as Chriſt himſelfe and the A-"poſtles were in their places wherein they lived, and therefore to "exempt the Clergy (as the Papiſts do) from Civill ſubjection, and "to ſay that *generatio Clerici*, is *corruptio ſubditi*, is both ſinfull and "ſcandalous to the Goſpel of God; and though all are equally "ſubject, yet Church members are more eſpecially bound to yeeld "ſubjection, and the moſt eminent moſt eſpecially bound, not on-"ly becauſe conſcience doth more ſtrongly binde, but alſo becauſe "their ill examples are more infectious to others, pernicious to the "State, and provoke Gods wrath to bring vengeance on the "State.

"Hence if the whole Church or officers of the Church ſhall "ſin againſt the State or any perſon by ſedition, contempt of Au-"thority, hereſie, blaſphemy, oppreſſion, ſlander, or ſhall with-"draw any of their members from the ſervice of the State with-"out the conſent thereof, their perſons and eſtates are liable to "Civill puniſhments of Magiſtrates according to their righteous "and wholſome Lawes, *Exod.* 22. 20. *Levit.* 24.16. *Deut.* 13.5. "& 18.10.

Truth. What concernes this head in civill things, I gladly ſubſcribe unto: what concernes hereſie, blaſphemy, &c. I have plentifully before ſpoken to, and ſhall here only ſay 2 things:

Firſt, thoſe Scriptures produced concerne only the people of God in a Church eſtate, and muſt have reference onely to the Church of Chriſt Jeſus, which (as Mr. *Cotton* confeſſeth) is not Nationall but Congregationall of ſo many as may meet in one place, 1 *Cor.*14. & therefore no Civill State can be the antitype and parallell; to which purpoſe upon the 11 Queſtion I ſhall at large

ſhew

shew the difference betweene that Nationall Church and State of Israel, and all other States and Nations in the World.

Secondly, If the Rulers of the Earth are bound to put to death all that worship other gods then the true God, or that blaspheme (that is speake evill of in a lesser or higher degree) that one true God; it must unavoidably follow that (the beloved for the Fathers sake) the Jewes whose very Religion blaspheme th Christ in the highest degree, I say they are actually sonnes of death, and all to be immediately executed according to those quoted Scriptures: And

The Law of putting to death blasphemers of Christ cuts off all hopes from the Jews of partaking in his bloud.

Secondly, the Townes, Cities, Nations and Kingdomes of the World must generally be put to the sword, if they speedily renounce not their Gods and Worships, and so cease to blaspheme the true God by their Idolatries: This bloody consequence cannot be avoided by any Scripture rule, for if that rule be of force Deut. 13. & 18. not to spare, or shew mercy upon person or City falling to Idolatry, that bars out all favour or partiality; and then what heapes upon heapes in the slaugher houses and shambles of Civill Warres must the world come to, as I have formerly noted, and that unnecessarily, it being not required by the Lord Jesus for his sake, and the Magistrates power and weapons being essentially Civill, and so not reaching to the impiety or ungodlinesse, but the incivility and unrighteousnesse of tongue or hand?

The direfull effects of fighting for conscience.

CHAP. XCVIII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, these are the poysoned daggers stabbing at my tender heart! Oh when shall the Prince of peace appeare and reconcile the bloudy sons of men? but let me now propose their 7 head: viz.

"In what order may the Magistrate execute punishment on a "Church or Church-member that offendeth his Lawes.

"First, grosse and publicke notorious sinnes which are against "the light of conscience as Heresie, &c. there the Magistrate kee-"ping him under safe ward should send the offendour first to the "Church to heale his conscience, still provided that the Church "be both able and willing thereunto: By which meanes the Ma-"gistrate shall convince such an ones conscience that he seeketh "his healing, rather then his hurt.

"The

"The censure also against him shall proceed with more power "and blessing, and none shall have cause to say that the Magi- "strate persecutes men for their consciences, but that he justly "punisheth such an one for sinning rather against his conscience, "*Tit.*3. 10.

"Secondly, in private offences how the Magistrate may proceed, "see Chap. 12. It is not materiall whether the Church or Magi- "strate take it first in hand. Only with this caution, that if the State "take it first in hand, they are not to proceed to death or banish- "ment, untill the Church hath taken their course with him, to "bring him to Repentance, provided that the Church be willing "and ready thereunto.

Secondly, in such sinnes wherein men plead Conscience, as Heresie, &c.

Truth. Here I have many just exceptions and considerations to present.

First, they propose a distinction of some sinnes: some are against the light of conscience, &c. and they instance in Heresie.

Ans. I have before discust this point of an Heretick sinning against light of conscience: And I shall adde that howsoever they lay this down as an infallible conclusion that all Heresie is against light of Conscience; yet (to passe by the discussion of the nature of Heresie, in which respect it may so be that even themselves may be found hereticall, yea and that in fundamentalls) how doe all Idolaters after light presented, and exhortations powerfully pressed, either Turkes or Pagans, Jewes or Antichristians, strongly even to the death hold fast (or rather are held fast by) their delusions.

Errour is confident as well as Truth.

Yea Gods people themselves, being deluded and captivated are strongly confident even against some fundamentalls, especially of worship, and yet not against the light, but according to the light or eye of a deceived conscience.

Gods people as well as others will be found obstinate in fundamentall errors in which sufferings and persecution doth harden.

Now all these consciences walke on confidently and constantly even to the suffering of death and torments, and are more strongly confirmed in their beleefe and conscience, because such bloody and cruell courses of persecution are used toward them.

Secondly, speakes not the Scripture expresly of the Jew, *Isa.* 6. *Mat.*13. *Acts* 28. that God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, &c all which must be spoken of the very conscience, which he that hath the golden key of *David* can only

only ſhut and open, and all the Picklocks or Swords in all the *Smiths* ſhops in the *World* can neither by *force* or *fraud* prevent his time.

Is it not ſaid of *Antichriſtians*, 2 Theſſl. 2. that *God* hath ſent them ſtrong *deluſions*, ſo ſtrong and efficacious, that they beleeve a Lie and that ſo Confidently, and ſome ſo Conſcientiouſly, that Death it ſelfe cannot part betweene the *Deluſion* and their Conſcience. Strong deluſions.

"Againe, the *Magiſtrate* (ſay they) keeping him in ſafe ward: "that is, the Heretick, the Blaſphemer, Idolater, &c.

Peace. I here aske all men that love even the Civill Peace, where the Lord Jeſus hath ſpoken a tittle of a Priſon or ſafe ward to this purpoſe.

Truth. We find indeed a priſon threatned by God to his irreconciled enemies, neglecting to account with him, *Matth.* 5.

We finde a priſon into which perſecuters caſt the Saints: So *John*, ſo *Paul*, and the Apoſtles, *Matth.* 14. 10. &c. were caſt, and the great Commander of, and caſter into priſon, is the Devill, *Revel.* 2. Spirituall priſons.

Wee finde a Spirituall priſon indeed, a priſon for Spirits, 1 *P.t.* 3. 19. the Spirits formerly rebellious againſt Chriſt Jeſus ſpeaking by *Noah* unto them, now kept in ſafe ward againſt the judgement of the great day.

In Excommunication, a Soule obſtinate in ſinne is delivered to Sathan his Jaylour, and he keeps him in ſafe ward, untill it pleaſeth God to releaſe him.

There is a priſon for the Devill himſelfe a thouſand yeares, *Rev.* 20. And a Lake of eternall fire and brimſtone, into which the Beaſt and Falſe Prophet, and all not written in the Lambes booke, and the Devill that deceived them, ſhall eternally be there ſecured and tormented. Chriſt Jeſus appointed no materiall priſons for Blaſphemers of him, &c.

But neither amongſt theſe, nor in any other paſſage of the New Teſtament, doe we finde a priſon appointed by Chriſt Jeſus for the Heretick, Blaſphemer, Idolater, &c. being not otherwiſe guilty againſt the Civill State.

'Tis true, Antichriſt (by the helpe of Civill Powers) hath his priſons, to keep Chriſt Jeſus and his members faſt: ſuch priſons may well be called the Biſhops priſons, the Popes, the Devils priſons: Theſe inquiſition houſes have ever been more terrible then the Magiſtrates. The Biſhops priſons.

At first, persecuting Bishops borrowed prisons of the Civill Magistrate (as now their successors doe still in the world) but afterward they wrung the keyes out of the Magistrates hands, and hung them at their own Girdles, and would have prisons of their owne, as doubtlesse will that Generation still doe, if God prevent them not.

CHAP. XCIX.

Peace. AGaine (say they) the *Magistrate* should send *him* first to the *Church* to heale his *Conscience.*

Like mother like daughter.

Truth. Is not this as the Prophet speakes, Like *mother*, like *daughter?* So the *mother* of *whoredomes* the *Church* of *Rome* teacheth and practiseth with all her *Hereticks:* First let the holy *Church* convince them, and then deliver them to the Secular power to receive the punishment of *Hereticks.*

Peace. Me thinks also they approach neere that Popish Tenent, *Ex opere operato:* for their Exhortations and Admonitions must necessarily be so operative and prevalent, that if the *Heretick* repent not, he now sins against his *Conscience:* not remembring that *Peradventure*, 2 Tim. 2. If *peradventure*, God will give them *repentance:* and how strong *delusions* are, and *believing* of *lies*, and how hard it is to be undeceived, especially in *Spirituals?*

Conscience not so easily healed and cured.

Truth. And as it may so prove, when an *Heretick* indeed is brought to this *Colledge* of *Physitians* to have his conscience healed, and one *Heretick* is to cure another: So also when any of *Christs Witnesses* (supposed *Hereticks*) are brought before them, how doth the *Lord Jesus* suffer whippings and stabs, when his *Name*, and *Truths*, and *Witnesses*, and *Ordinances* are all prophaned and blasphemed?

Wounding in stead of healing of Consciences.

Besides, suppose a Man to be an *Heretick*, and yet suppose him brought as the *Magistrates* Prisoner, though to a true *Church*, to heale his *Conscience:* What promise of *Presence* and *Blessing* hath the *Lord Iesus* made to his *Church* and *Spouse* in such a way? and how common is it for *Hereticks* either to be desperately hardned by such cruell courses (yet pretending Soule-healing) or else through *feare* and *terrour* to practice grosse hypocrisie even against their *consciences?* So that these *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* pretending to heale *Consciences*, by such a course wound them deeper, and declare them-

themselves *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* of no value.

Peace. But what thinke you of the Proviso added to their Propositon, viz. Provided, the Church bee able and willing?

Truth. Doubtles this proviso derogates not a little from the nature of the Spouse of Christ. For she, like that gracious woman, *Prov.* 31. 26. openeth her mouth with wisedome, and in her tongue is the Law of Grace: she is the pillar and ground of Truth, 2 *Tim.* 2. The golden candlestick from whence true light shineth: the Angels or Ministers thereof able to try false Apostles (*Rev.* 2.) and convince the Gainsayers, *Tit.* 1.

Christs Spouse able and willing to heale wounded consciences.

Againe (according to their principles of suppressing persons and Churches falsely worshipping) how can they permit such a blind and dead Church not able and willing to heale a wounded Conscience?

Peace. What should be the reason of this their expression?

Truth. Doubtles their *Consciences* tell them how few of those *Churches* (which they yet acknowledge *Churches*) are able and willing to hold forth *Christ Iesus* the *Sun* of *Righteousnes*, healing with his wings the doubting and afflicted *conscience*.

Lastly, their *conscience* tells them, that a Servant of *Christ Iesus* may possibly be sent as an *Heretick* to be healed by a *false Church*, which *Church* will never be willing to deale with him, or never be able to convince him.

Peace. "Yea, but they say, by such a course the *Magistrate* "shall convince such an ones *conscience*; that hee seekes his good, "&c.

Truth. If a man thus bound be sent to a *Church* to be healed in his *conscience*, either he is an *Heretick*, or he is not.

Admit he be: yet he disputes in *feare*, as the poor *theefe*: the *Mouse* disputes with a terrible persecuting *Cat*: who while she seemes to play and gently tosse, yet the conclusion is a proud insulting and devouring crueltie.

A persecuting Church disputes with an Heretick as a Cat with the Mouse; and with a true Witnes as a Lyon with a Lambe in his paw.

If no Heretick but an innocent and faithfull witnes of any Truth of Jesus; disputes he not as a *Lambe* in the *Lyons* paw, being sure in the end to be torne in pieces?

Peace. They adde: The *censure* this way proceeds with more *power* and blessing.

Truth. All power and blessing is from that blessed Son of God, unto

unto whom all power is given from the *Father*, in Heaven and Earth. He hath promiſed his *preſence* with his *Meſſengers*, preaching and baptizing to the worlds end, ratifying in Heaven what they binde or looſe on Earth.

But let any man ſhew me ſuch a *commiſſion*, *inſtruction* and *promiſe* given by the *Son* of *God* to *Civill powers* in theſe ſpirituall affaires of his *Chriſtian Kingdome* and *Worſhip*?

Peace. Laſtly they conclude, "This courſe of firſt ſending the "Heretick to be healed by the Church, takes away all excuſe; for "none can ſay that he is perſecuted for his Conſcience, but for "ſinning againſt his Conſcience.

Perſecutours endure not ſo to be called.

Truth. *Jeſabel* placing poore *Naboth* before the *Elders* as a blaſphemer of *God* and the *King*, and ſanctifying the plotted and intended murther with a day of *humiliation*, may ſeeme to take away all excuſe, and to conclude the *Blaſphemer* worthy to be ſtoned: But *Jehovah* the *God* of *Recompences* (*Ier.* 51.) when he makes *Inquiſition* for *blood*, will find both *Ieſabel* and *Ahab* guilty, and make the *Dogs* a feaſt with the fleſh of *Ieſabel*, and leave not to *Ahab* a man to piſſe againſt the wall; for (as *Paul* in his owne plea) there was nothing committed worthy of *death*: and againſt thee, O *King*, ſaith *Daniel*, I have not ſinned (*Dan.* 6.) in any Civill fact againſt the State.

CHAP. C.

Peace. THeir eighth queſtion is this: viz. What power Magiſtrates have about the gathering of Churches?

"Firſt, the Magiſtrate hath power, and it is his duty to incou-"rage and countenance ſuch perſons, as voluntarily joyn them-"ſelves in holy Covenant, both by his preſence (if it may be) and "promiſe of protection, they accepting the right hand of fel-"lowſhip from other neighbour Churches.

"Secondly, he hath power to forbid all Idolatrous and corrupt "Aſſemblies, who offer to put themſelves under their patronage, "and ſhall attempt to joyne themſelves into a Church-eſtate, and "if they ſhall not hearken, to force them therefrom by the power "of the Sword, *Pſal.* 101. 8. For our tolerating many Religions "in a State in ſeverall Churches, beſide the provoking of God, may "in time not only corrupt, leaven, divide, and ſo deſtroy the peace

of

"of the Churches, but also dissolve the continuity of the State, es-
"pecially ours whose wals are made of the stones of the Churches;
"it being also contrary to the end of our planting in this part of
"the World, which was not only to enjoy the pure Ordinances,
"but to enjoy them all in purity.

"Thirdly, He hath power to compell all men within his grant,
"to heare the Word, for hearing the Word of God is a duty which
"the light of Nature leadeth even Heathens to: The Ninivites
"heard *Jonah*, though a stranger, and unknowne unto them, to be
"an extraordinary Prophet, *Jonah* 3. And *Eglon* the King of *Moab*
"hearing that *Ehud* had a message from God, he rose out of his
"seat for more reverent attention, *Judg.*3.20.

"Yet he hath no power to compell all men to become members
"of Churches, because he hath not power to make them fit mem-
"bers for the Church, which is not wrought by the power of the
"Sword, but by the power of the Word: Nor may he force the
"Churches to accept of any for members, but those whom the
"Churches themselves can freely approve of.

Truth. To the first branch of this *head*, I answer, That the *Magistrate* should encourage and countenance the *Church*, yea and protect the persons of the *Church* from violence, disturbance, &c. it being truly noble and glorious, by how much the *Spouse* and *Queene* of the *Lord Jesus* transcends the *Ladies*, *Queens*, and *Empresses* of the *World*, in *glory*, *beauty*, *chastity* and *innocency*.

'Tis true, all *Magistrates* in the *world* do this: viz. Incourage and protect that *Church* or *Assembly* of *worshippers*, which they judge to be true and approve of; but not permitting other consciences then their owne: It hath come to passe in all ages, and yet doubtlesse will, that the Lord *Jesus* and His *Queene* are driven and persecuted out of the World.

To the second, That the Magistrate ought to suppresse all Churches which he judgeth false, he quoteth *Psal.* 101. 8. "Betimes I
"will cut off the wicked of the Land, that I may cut off all evill
"doers from the City of Jehovah: unto which, he addeth foure Reasons.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, first, a word to that Scripture, so often quoted, and so much boasted of.

Truth. Concerning that holy Land of *Canaan*, concerning the *City of Jehovah*, *Jerusalem*, out of which King *David* here resolves

Psal. 101.8. concerning the cutting off the wicked, examined.

to cut off all the wicked and evill doers. I shall speake more largely on the 11 *Head* or *Question* in the *differences* between that and all other Lands.

At present I answer, There is no holy Land or *City* of the *Lord*, no *King* of *Sion*, &c. but the *Church* of *Jesus Christ*, and the King thereof, according to 1 *Pet.* 2.9. Ye are a holy *Nation*, and *Jerusalem* is the holy people of God in the true profession of *Christianity*, *Heb.* 12. *Gal.* 4. & *Rev.* 21. Out of which the *Lord Jesus* by his holy Ordinances, in such a *government*, and by such *governours* as he hath appointed, he cuts off every wicked person and evill doer.

No Land of Canaan, nor holy City now

If *Christ Jesus* had intended any difference of *place*, *Cities* or *Countries*, doubtlesse *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* had been thought of, or the Cities of *Asia*, wherein the *Christian Religion* was so gloriously planted.

But the *Lord Jesus* disclaimes *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* from having any respect of *holinesse* more then other *Cities*, *John* 4.

No difference of Lands and Cities since the comming as was before the comming of the Lord Jesus.

And the Spirit of God evidently testifieth that the *Churches* were in the *Cities* and *Countries*, not that the whole *Cities* or *Countries* were *Gods* holy Land, and *Cities* out of which all *false worshippers* and *wicked persons* were to be cut, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

The *Divells* throne was in the City of *Pergamus*, in respect of the state and persecution of it, and yet there was also the *Throne* of the *Lord Jesus* set up in His *Church* of *worshippers* in *Pergamus*, out of which the *Balaamites*, and *Nicholaitans* and every false *worshipper* was to be cast, though not out of the City of *Pergamus*, for then *Pergamus* must have beene throwne out of *Pergamus*, and the *World* out of the *World*.

CHAP. CI.

Peace. OH that my head were a *fountaine*, and mine eyes *Rivers* of *teares* to lament my *children*, the *children* of *peace* and *light*, thus darkning that, and other lightsome Scriptures with such darke and direfull clouds of *blood*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, thy teares are seasonable and precious, and bottled up in the *Heavens*: but let me adde a second consideration from that Scripture: If that Scripture may now literally be applied to Nations and Cities in a parallel to *Canaan* and *Jerusalem* since the

the *Gospel*, and this Psal. 101. be literally to be applied to *Cities*, *Townes*, and *Countries* in *Europe* and *America*, not only such as assay to joyne themselves (as they here speake) in a corrupt *Church* estate, but such as know no *Church* estate, nor *God*, nor *Christ*, yea every wicked person and evill doer, must be hanged or stoned, &c. as it was in *Israel*, and if so, how many *thousands* and *millions* of men and women in the severall *Kingdomes* and *governments* of the *World* must be cut off from their Lands, and destroyed from their *Cities*, as this Scripture speakes?

The bloudy interpretation of Psal. 101.

Thirdly, since those persons in the *New English* plantations accounted unfit for *Church* estate, yet remaine all members of the *Church* of *England*, from which *New England* dares not separate, no not in their *Sacraments* (as some of the *Independents* have published) what *riddle* or *mysterie*, or rather *fallacie* of Sathan is this?

Peace. It will not be offence to *charity* to make conjecture: First, herein *New England Churches* secretly call their *Mother Whore*, not daring in *America* to joyne with their owne *Mothers* children, though unexcommunieate, no nor permit them to worship *God* after their consciences, and as their Mother hath taught them this secretly and silently, they have a minde to doe, which publickly they would seem to *disclaime*, and professe against.

The New English seperate in America, but not in Europe.

Secondly, If such members of *Old England* should be suffered to enjoy their *consciences* in *New*, (however it is pretended they would profane *Ordinances* for which they are unfit (as true it is in that *naturall persons* are not fit for *Spirituall worship*) yet this appears not to be the bottome, for in *Old England* the *New English* joyne with *Old* in the *ministrations* of the *Word*, *Prayer*, *singing*, *contribution*, *maintenance* of the *Ministrie*, &c.) if I say, they should set up Churches after their *conscience*, the *greatnesse* and *multitudes* of their owne Assemblies would decay, and with all the contributions and *maintenance* of their *Ministers*, unto which all or most have beene forced.

The New English permit not their brethren of Old England to enjoy their consciences lest their owne numbers might exceed their owne, or at least the greatnesse of their owne Assemblies & maintenances decrease.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, These are more then conjectures, thousands now espie, and all that love the purity of the worship of the living God should lament such halting: I shall adde this, not only doe they partially neglect to cut off the wicked of the Land, but such as themselves esteemed beloved and goldy have they driven forth, and keep out others which would come unto them, eminently godly by their owne confession, because differing in conscience and

and worship from them, and consequently not to be suffered in their holy Land of *Canaan*.

But having examined that Scripture alledged, let us now weigh their Reasons.

First (say they) the not cutting off by the sword, but tolerating many *Religions* in a State would provoke God: unto which

Christ Jesus never appointed all Religions but his owne to be cut off by the Civill Sword.

I answer, first (and here being no Scripture produced to these *Reasons*, shall the sooner answer) that no proofe can be made from the *Institutions* of the *Lord Jesus* that all Religions but one are to be cut off by the *Civill Sword*; that Nationall *Church* in that typicall Land of *Canaan* being abolished, and the *Christian Commonweale* or *Church* instituted.

A bloody mother.

Secondly, I affirme that the cutting off by the Sword other *Consciences* and *Religions* is (contrarily) most provoking unto God, expressely against his will concerning the Tares *Matth.* 13. as I have before proved; as also the bloody *mother* of all those monstrous mischiefes (where such cutting off is used) both to the *soules* and *bodies* of men.

Thirdly, let *conscience* and *experience* speake how in the not cutting off their many *Religions*, it hath pleased God not only not to be provoked, but to prosper the state of the united Provinces our next neighbours, and that to admiration.

Peace. The second reason is, such tolerating would leaven, divide and destroy the peace of the Churches.

Christs Spirituall power, most powerfull.

Truth. This must also be denied upon so many former *Scriptures* & *Reasons* produced, proving the power of the *Lord Jesus*, and the sufficiencie of his *Spirituall* power in his *Church*, for the purging forth and conquering of the least *evill*, yea and for the bringing every thought in subjection unto *Christ Jesu*, 2 Cor. 10.

Christ forbidding his followers to permit leaven in the Church, doth not forbid to permit leaven in the World.

I adde, they have not produced one Scripture, nor can, to prove that the permitting of *leaven* of false *doctrine* in the *World* or *Civill State*, will leaven the *Churches*: only we finde that the permission of *leaven* in *persons*, *doctrines* or *practices* in the *Church*, that indeed will corrupt and spread, 1 *Cor.* 5. & *Gal.* 5. but this *Reason* should never have been alledged, were not the particular *Churches* in *New England*, but as so many implicite *Parish Churches* in one implicite Nationall Church.

Peace. Their third *Reason* is, it will dissolve the *continuity* of the State, especially theirs, where the *walls* are made of the stones of the *Churches*.

Truth.

Truth. I answer briefly to this bare *affirmation* thus, that the true *Church* is a *wall* spirituall and mysticall, *Cant.* 8. 9.

Then consequently a false Church or Company is a false or pretended *wall*, and none of *Christs*.

The *civill State*, *Power* and *Government* is a *civill wall*, *&c.* and

Lastly, the *walls* of *Earth* or stone about a City are the naturall or artificiall wall or defence of it.

Now in consideration of these foure wals I desire it may be proved from the Scriptures of *Truth*, how the false *spiritual wall* or company of false *worshippers* suffred in a *City* can be able to destroy the true *Christian wall* or company of *beleevers*. The Wall, *Cant.* 8. 9. discussed.

Againe, how this false *spirituall wall* or false *Church* permitted, can destroy the *civill wall*, the *State* and *Government* of the *City* and *Citizens*, any more then it can destroy the *naturall* or *artificiall wall* of earth or stone. A spirituall wall cannot properly impaire the civil.

Spirituall may destroy *spirituall*, if a stronger and victorious, but *spirituall* cannot reach to *artificiall* or *civill*.

Peace. Yea but they feare the false *spirituall wall* may destroy their *civill*, because it is made of the stones of *Churches*.

Truth. If this have reference to that practice amongst them, *viz.* that none but members of *Churches* enjoy *civill* freedome amongst them (ordinarily) in imitation of that *Nationall Church* and *State* of the *Jewes*, then I answer, they that follow *Moses Church constitution*) which the *New English* by such a practice implicitely doe) must cease to pretend to the Lord *Jesus Christ* and his *institutions*.

Secondly, we shall finde lawfull *civill States* both before and since *Christ Iesus*, in which we finde not any tidings of the true *God* our *Christ*. Many flourishing Civill States where true Churches are not found.

Lastly, their *civill New English State* framed out of their *Churches* may yet stand, subsist and flourish, although they did (as by the word of the *Lord* they ought) permit either *Jewes* or *Turkes* or *Antichristians* to live amongst them subject unto *their Civill Government*.

CHAP. CII.

Peace. ONe branch more, *viz.* the third remaines of this Head, and it concerns the hearing of the Word, "unto which "(say they) all men are to be compelled, because hearing of the

"word

" word is a duty which even Nature leadeth Heathens to: for this " they quote the practice of the Ninevites hearing *Ionah*, and *Eglon* " (King of Moab) his rising up to *Ehuds* pretended message from " God, *Judg* 3.

Hearing discussed.

Truth. I must deny that position: for light of Nature leadeth men to heare that onely which Nature conceiveth to be good for it, and therefore not to heare a Messenger, Minister or Preacher, whom *conscience* perswades is a false *messenger* or *deceiver*, and comes to deceive my soule, as Millions of men and women in their severall respective *religions* and *consciences* are so perswaded, conceiving their owne to be true.

Every Religion prefers its owne Priests and Ministers before all other.

Secondly, as concerning the *instances*, *Ionah* did not compell the Ninevites to heare that *message* which he brought unto them.

Jonahs preaching to the Ninevites, and their hearing of his message examined.

Besides the matter of *compulsion* to a constant *worship* of the *word* in *Church estate* (which is the *Question*) comes not neare *Ionahs* case.

Nor did *Christ Jesus* or any of his *Embassadours* so practice: but if persons refused to heare the command of the *Lord Iesus* to his Messengers was onely to depart from them, shaking off the dust of their *feet* with a denunciation of *Gods wrath* against them, *Matth.* 10. *Act.* 14.

Eglon his rising up to Ehuds message, examined.

Concerning *Eglon* his rising up: First, *Ehud* compelled not that King either to heare or reverence, and all that can bee imitable in *Eglon*, is a voluntary and willing *reverence* which persons ought to expresse to what they are perswaded comes from *God*.

But how doe both these instances mightily convince and condemne themselves, who not onely professe to turne away from, but also persecute or hunt all such as shall dare to professe a *Ministry* or *Church* estate differing from their owne, though for personall *godlinesse* and excellency of gifts reverenced by themselves.

Thirdly, to the point of *compulsion*: It hath pleased the *Lord Iesus* to appoint a twofold Ministry of his Word.

A twofold Ministry of Christ, converting and feeding.

First, for *unbeleevers* and their *conversion*, according to *Matth.* 28. 19. *Marc.* 16 15, 16. and the constant practice of the Apostles in the first preaching of the *Gospel*.

Secondly, a Ministry of *feeding* and *nourishing* up such as are *converted* and brought into *Church estate*, according to *Ephes.* 4. &c. Now to neither of these doe we finde any compulsion appointed by the *Lord Iesus*, or practised by any of his.

The

The compulsion preached and practised in *New England*, is not to the hearing of that *Ministry* sent forth to convert unbeleevers, and to constitute *Churches*: for such a *Ministry* they practise not: but to the hearing of the word of *edification, exhortation, consolation*, dispenced onely in the *Churches* of *worshippers*: I apply,

When *Paul* came first to *Corinth* to preach *Christ Iesus*, by their Rule the Magistrates of *Corinth* ought by the Sword to have compelled all the people of *Corinth* to heare *Paul*.

Secondly, after a Church of *Christ* was gathered (by their rule) the *Magistrates* of *Corinth* ought to have compelled the people still (even those who had refused his Doctrine, for the few onely of the Church embraced it) to have heard the Word still, and to have kept one day in seven to the *Christians God*, and to have come to the *Christians Church* all their dayes. And what is this but a setled formality of *Religion* and *Worship*, unto which a people are brought by the power of the sword?

Paul never used any civill compulsion.

And however they affirme that persons are not to be compelled to be *members* of *Churches*, nor the Church compelled to receive any: Yet if persons be compelled to forsake their Religion which their hearts cleave to, and to come to *Church*, to the *worship* of the *Word, Prayers, Psalmes*, and *Contributions*, and this all their dayes: I aske whether this be not this peoples Religion, unto which submitting, they shall be quiet all their dayes, without the inforcing them to the practice of any other Religion? And if this bee not so, then I aske, Will it not inevitably follow, that they (not onely permit, but) enforce people to bee of no Religion at all, all their dayes?

The New English forcing their subjects to church all their daies, and yet forcing them not to any Religion (as they say) they force the people then to be of no religion all their dayes,

This toleration of Religion, or rather irreligious *compulsion*, is above all *tolerations* monstrous, to wit, to compell men to bee of no *Religion* all their dayes. I desire all men and these worthy *Authors* of this Modell, to lay their hands upon their heart, and to consider whether this *compulsion* of men to heare the *word*, (as they say) whether it carries men, to wit, to be of no *Religion* all their dayes, worse then the very *Indians*, who dare not live without *Religion* according as they are perswaded.

Lastly, I adde, from the *Ordinance* of the Lord *Jesus*, and practice of the Apostles (Acts 2.42.) where the Word and Prayer is joyned with the exercise of their *fellowship*, and breaking of Bread; in which Exercises the *Church* continued constantly: that it is apparent

The Civill State can no more lawfully compell the Consciences of men to Church to heare the Word, then to receive the Sacraments.

rent that a *Civill State* may as lawfully compell men by the *civill sword* to the breaking of *bread*, or Lords Supper, as to the *Word* or *Prayer*, or *Fellowship*.

For first, they are all of the same *nature*, *Ordinances* in the *Church* (I speake of the *feeding Ministrie* in the *Church*, unto which persons are compell'd) and *Church Worship*. Secondly, every *conscience* in the *World* is fearfull, at least shie of the *Priests* and *Ministers* of other *Gods* and *Worships*, and of holding Spirituall fellowship in any of their Services. Which is the case of many a Soule, viz. to question the Ministers themselves, as well as the Supper it selfe.

CHAP. CIII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, This pressing of men to the Spirituall Battels of Christ Jesus, is the cause why (as it is commonly with prest Souldiers) that so many thousands flie in the day of Battell. But I present you with the 9. Question, *viz.*

What power the Magistrate hath in providing of Church-Officers?

"First (say they) the Election of Church officers being the proper Act of the Church, therefore the Magistrate hath no power "(either as Prince or Patron) to assume such power unto himselfe. "When Christ sends to preach by his supreme power, the Ma"gistrate may send forth by his power subordinate, to gather "Churches, and may force people to heare them, but not invest "them with office amongst them.

"Secondly, the Maintenance of Church-officers being to arise "from all those who are ordinarily taught thereby (*Gal.6.6.*) hence "it is the dutie of the Civill Magistrate to contend with the peo"ple, as *Nehemiah* did, *chap.* 13. *ver.* 10. 11. who doe neglect and "forsake the due maintenance of the Church of God, and to com"mand them to give such portions for the maintenance of Church "officers, as the Gospell commandeth to be offered to them freely "and bountifully, 2 *Cor.*9.5,6,7. According as *Hezekiah* comman"ded the people to give to the Priests and Levites the portions "appointed by the Law, that they might be incouraged in the Law "of the Lord, 2 *Chron.* 31. 4.

"Thirdly, the furnishing the Church with set officers, depen"ding much upon erecting and maintenance of Schooles, and good

"good education of youth; and it lying chiefly in the hand of the "Magiſtrate to provide for the furthering thereof, they may there- "fore and ſhould ſo farre provide for the Churches, as to erect "Schooles, take care for fit Governours and Tutours, and com- "mend it to all the Churches, if they ſee it meet, that in all the "Churches within the Juriſdiction once in a yeare, and if it may "be, the Sabbath before the Generall Court of Election, there be "a Free-will offering of all people for the maintenance of ſuch "Schooles: And the monies of every Towne ſo given, to be "brought on the day of Election to the Treaſurie of the Colledge, "and the monies to be diſpoſed by ſuch who are ſo choſen for the "diſpoſing thereof.

Truth. In the choice of officers, it is very obſcure what they mean by this ſupreme power of Chriſt Jeſus ſending to preach.

We know the Commiſſion of the Lord Jeſus to his firſt Meſſengers to goe into all Nations to preach and gather Churches, and they were immediately ſent forth by him: but Mr. *Cotton* elſwhere holdeth, that there is now extant no immediate *Miniſtry* from *Chriſt*, but *mediate*, that is, from the *Church*.

Let us firſt ſee how they agree with themſelves, and ſecondly how they agree with the *Magiſtrate* in this buſines.

First, if they hold a ſending forth to preach by Chriſts ſupreme power, according to *Math.* 28. *Mark* 16. *Rom.* 10. they muſt neceſſarily grant a time, when the *Church* is not, but is to be conſtituted out of the *Nations* and *Peoples* now converted by this *preaching*: whence according to the *courſe* of *Scripture*, the nature of the *Worke*, and their own *Grant* in this place, it is apparent that there is a *Miniſtery* before the *Church*, gathering and eſpouſing the Church to *Chriſt*: and therefore their other *Tenent* muſt needs be too light, viz. that there is no *Miniſtry* but that which is *mediate* from the *Church*.

In the firſt patterne there is a converting Miniſtrie, to gather the Church or Flock of Chriſt.

Peace. Bleſſed *Truth*, this doctrine of a *Miniſtry* before the *Church*, is *harſh* and *deep*, yet moſt *true*, moſt *ſweet*: Yet you know their *Ground*, that two or three Godly *perſons* may joyne themſelves together, become a *Church*, make officers, ſend them forth to preach, to convert, baptize, and gather New *Churches*.

Truth. I anſwer, firſt we find not in the firſt *inſtitution* and *patterne*, that ever any ſuch two, or three, or more, did gather and conſtitute themſelves a *Church* of *Chriſt*, without a *Miniſtrie* ſent

from *God* to invite and call them by the *Word*, and to receive them unto *fellowship* with *God* upon the receiving of that *Word* and *Message*: And therefore it may very well be quæried how without such a Ministry two or three become a Church? and how the power of Christ is conveyed unto them; Who espoused this people unto *Jesus Christ*, as the *Church* at *Corinth* was espoused by *Paul*, 2 Cor. 11.? If it be said themselves, or if it be said the Scriptures, let one instance be produced in the first *patternes* and *practices* of such a Practice.

No president of any people in the Gospell converting & gathering themselves, without some Messenger sent from the Lord to effect those ends.

It hath been generally confest, that there is no comming to the *Mariage feast* without a *Messenger* inviting, sent from *God* to the *Soules* of men, *Matth.*22. *Luc.*14. *Rom.*10.

We finde when the *Thessalonians* turned to *God* from their *Idols* to serve the living and true *God*, 1 *Thessal.* 1.9. it pleased *God* to bring a *Word* of *Power* unto them by the mouth of *Paul* in the same place.

Peace. You know (deare *Truth*) it is a common plea, that Gods people now are converted already, and therefore may congregate themselves, &c.

Truth. Two things must here be cleered:

Professed publique conversion is not onely from sinnes against the second Table in personall Repentance, but from false worship also.

First, doth their *conversion* amount to externall turning from *Idolls*, 1 Thess. 1.9. beside their internall *Repentance*, *Faith*, *Love*, &c. Secondly, who wrought this *conversion*, who begot these Children? (for though the *Corinthians* might have ten thousand *Teachers*, yet *Paul* had begotten them by the *Word*.

'Tis true (as Mr. *Cotton* himselfe elsewhere acknowledgeth) *God* sendeth many *Preachers* in the way of his *providence* (even in *Babel* mysticall) though not according to his *Ordinance* and *Institution*: So even in the *wilderneſſe* (*Rev.*12.) *God* provideth for the sustentation of the woman, *Rev.*12. by which *provision* even in the most *Popish times* and *places*, yea and by most false and *Popish callings* (now in this lightsome Age confest so to be) *God* hath done great things to the personall *conversion*, *consolation*, and *salvation* of his people.

A true Ministery necessary before conversion, and therefore before the Church in the first patterne.

But as there seems yet to be desired such *constitution* of the *Christian Church*, as the first *institution* and *patterne* calls for: So also such a *calling* and *converting* of *Gods people* from *Antichristian Idols* to the *Christian Worship*: And therefore such a *Ministry* (according to the first patterne) sent from *Christ Jesus* to renew and restore

store the *Worship* and *Ordinances* of *God* in *Christ*.

Lastly, if it should be granted that without a *Ministry* sent from *Christ* to gather *Churches*, that *Gods* people in this Country may be *called*, *converted* from *Antichristian Idolls*, to the true *worship* of *God* in the true *Church* estate and *Ordinances*, will it not follow that in all other Countries of the World *Gods* Elect must or may be so converted from their severall respective false *worships* and *Idolatries*, and brought into the true *Christian Church* estate without such a *Ministry* sent unto them? Or are there two *wayes* appointed by the *Lord Jesus*, one for this Country, and another for the rest of the *World*? Or lastly, if two or three more (without a *Ministry*) shall arise up, become a *Church*, make *Ministers*, *&c.* I ask whether those two or three, or more must not be accounted immediately and extraordinarily stirred up by *God*, and whether this be that supreme power of *Christ Jesus* (which they speake of) sending forth two or three private persons to make a *Church* and *Ministers*, without a true *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus* first sent unto themselves? Is this that *commission* (which all Ministers pretend unto) *Mat.* 28. 19. *&c.* first, in the hands of two or three private persons becomming a *Church*, without a mediat call from which *Church* (say they) there can be no true *Ministry*, and yet also confesse that *Christ* sendeth forth to preach by his *supreme power*; and the *Magistrate* by his power subordinate to gather Churches?

The true way of the Ministry sent with that commission Math. 28. discovered.

CHAP. CIV.

Peace. YOu have taken great paines to shew the irreconciliablenesse of those their two assertions, *viz.* First, there is now no Ministry (as they say) but what is mediat from the Church, and yet secondly, Christ Jesus sends Preachers forth by his supreme power to gather the Church: I now wait to heare, how, as they "say, the Magistrate may send forth by his power subordinate to "gather Churches, enforcing the people to heare, &c.

Truth. If there be a *Ministry* sent forth by *Christs* supreme *power*; and a *Ministry* sent forth by the *Magistrates* subordinate power to gather Churches, I aske what is the difference between these two? Is there any gathering of Churches but by that *commission*, *Mat.* 28. *Teach* and *baptize*? And is the *civill Magistrate* in-

The Civill Magistrate not betrusted with gathering of Churches.

intrusted with a power from *Christ* as his *Deputy* to give this *commission*, and so to send out *Ministers* to preach and baptize?

As there is nothing in the *Testament* of *Christ* concerning such a *delegation* or *assignment* of such power of Christ to the *civill Magistrate:* So I also ask, since in every free State *civill Magistrates* have no more power but what the peoples of those *States*, *Lands* and *Countries* betrust them with, whether or no (by this meanes) it must not follow that *Christ Iesus* hath left with the Peoples and Nations of the World, his Spirituall Kingly power to grant commissions and send out Ministers to themselves, to preach, convert and baptize themselves? How inevitably this followes upon their conclusion of power in Magistrates to send, &c. and what unchristian and unreasonable consequences must flow from hence, let all consider in the feare of *God*.

If the Magistrate, then much more the people of the world, from whom the Magistrates receive their power.

Iehoshaphat (2 Chron. 17.) a figure of Christ Jesus in his Church not of the Civill Magistrate in the State.

Iehoshaphats sending forth the *Levites* to teach in *Iudah*, *&c.* as they alledge it not; so elsewhere it shall more fully appeare to be a type and figure of *Christ Iesus* the only King of his Church providing for the feeding of his Church and People by his true *Christian Priests* and *Levites*, viz. The *Ministry* which in the *Gospel* he hath appointed.

CHAP. CV.

Peace. WE have examined the Ministry, be pleased (deare *Truth*) to speake to the second branch of this head, *viz.* the maintenance of it; They affirme that the Magistrate may force out the Ministers maintenance from all that are taught by them, and that after the patterne of Israel, and the argument from 1 Cor. 9. Gal. 6. 6.

Truth. This theame, *viz.* concerning the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers of worship, is indeed the Apple of the Eye, the *Dianah* of the *Dianah*, *&c.* yet all that love Christ Jesus in sincerity, and soules in and from him will readily professe to abhorre filthy lucre (*Tit.* 1.) and the wages of *Balaam* (both more common and frequent then easily is discernable.)

Gal. 6. 6. Concerning the maintenance of the Ministry examined.

To that Scripture *Gal* 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the Word make him that teacheth partaker of all his goods: I answer, That teaching was of persons converted, beleevers entred into the Schoole and Family of Christ the Church, which Church being rightly

rightly gathered, is also rightly invested with the *power* of the *Lord Jesus*, to force every soule therein by spirituall *weapons* and *penalties* to doe its duty.

But this forcing of the *Magistrate* is intended and practised to all sorts of *persons* without as well as within the *Church*, *unconverted*, *naturall* and dead in sinne, as well as those that live, and feeding enjoy the *benefit* of spirituall food.

Now for those sorts of persons to whom *Christ Jesus* sends his Word out of *Church* estate, *Iewes* or *Gentiles*, (according to the *Parable* of *Math.* 13. *high-way hearers*, *stony ground* and *thorny ground* hearers) wee never finde title of any *maintenance* to bee expected, least of all to bee forced and exacted from them. By *civill power* they cannot be forced, for it is no *civill payment* or businesse, no matter of *Cæsar*, but concerning *God*: nor by *spirituall power*, which hath nothing to doe with those which are without, 1 *Cor.* 5.

Christ Jesus never appointed a maintenance of his Ministers from the unconverted and unbeleeving.

It is reasonable to expect and demand of such as live within the *state* a *civill maintenance* of their *civill officers*, and to force it where it is denyed. It is reasonable for a *Schoole-master* to demand his recompence for his labour in his *Schoole*: but it is not reasonable to expect or force it from *strangers*, *enemies*, *rebels* to that City, from such as come not within, or else would not bee received into the *Schoole*. What is the *Church* of *Christ Jesus*, but the *City*, the *Schoole*, and *Family* of *Christ*? the *Officers* of this *City*, *Schoole*, *Family*, may reasonably expect maintenance from such they minister unto, but not from strangers, enemies, &c.

Peace. It is most true that sinne goes in a *links*, for that *tenent* that all the men of the *world* may bee compelled to heare *Christ* preach (and enjoy the *labours* of the *Teacher* as well as the *Church* it selfe) forceth on another also as evill, *viz.* that they should also be compelled to pay, as being most equall and reasonable to pay for their conversion.

They that compell men to heare, compell men also to pay for their hearing and conversion.

Truth. Some use to urge that Text of *Luc.* 14. *Compell* them to come in. Compell them to *Masse* (say the *Papists*:) compell them to Church and Common prayer, say the *Protestants*: Compell them to the *Meeting*, say the *New English*. In all these *compulsions* they disagree amongst themselves: but in this, *viz.* Compell them to pay, in this they all agree.

Luc. 14. Compell them, examined.

There is a double violence which both Errour and Falshood use to the soules of men.

Two sorts of compulsion.

Morall and

First, morall and perſwaſive, ſuch was the perſwaſion firſt uſed to *Ioſeph* by his *Miſtris*: ſuch was the *perſwaſions* of *Tamar* from *Ammon*: ſuch was the compelling of the *young man* by the Harlot, *Prov.7.* ſhee caught him by her much faire *ſpeech* and *kiſſes*. And thus is the whole world compelled to the worſhip of the Golden *Image*, *Dan.3.*

Civill Compulſion.

The ſecond Compulſion is *civill*, ſuch as *Ioſephs* Miſtris began to practiſe upon *Ioſeph* to attaine her whoriſh deſires.

Such as *Ammon* practiſed on *Tamar* to ſatisfie his brutiſh luſt.

And ſuch was *Nabuchadnezzars* ſecond compulſion, his fiery Furnace, *Dan.3.* and myſticall *Nabuchadnezzars* killing all that receive not his marke, *Rev.13.*

The Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus compell with no other ſword then that of Chriſts mouth, the ſword of the Spirit with two edges.

The firſt ſort of theſe *violences*, to wit, by powerfull argument and perſwaſion, the *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel* alſo uſe. Hence all thoſe powerfull perſwaſions of Wiſedomes *Maidens*, *Pro.9.* Hence (ſaith *Paul*) knowing the *terrour* of the *Lord*, we perſwade men, *2 Cor.5.* and pull ſome out of the fire, ſaith *Iude*: ſuch muſt that *compulſion* be, *Luc.14. viz.* the powerfull perſwaſions of the *Word*; being that two-edged ſword comming out of the mouth of *Chriſt Ieſus* in his true *Miniſters* ſent forth to invite poore ſinners to partake of the *Feaſt* of the *Lambe* of *God*. The *civill Miniſters* of the Commonweale cannot be ſent upon this *buſineſſe* with their *civill weapons* and *compulſions*, but the *ſpirituall Miniſter* of the *Goſpel* with his ſpirituall ſword of *Chriſts* mouth, a *ſword* with two edges.

The maintenance of the Miniſtry ſpirituall.

But more particularly the *contributions* of *Chriſts Kingdome* are all holy and ſpirituall, though conſiſting of materiall earthly *ſubſtance*, (as is *Water* in *Baptiſme*, *Bread* and *Wine* in the *Supper*) and joyned with prayer and the *Lords Supper*, *Act.2.42.*

Naturall men can neither truly worſhip nor maintain it.

Hence as Prayer is called *Gods ſacrifice*, ſo are the *contributions* and mutuall ſupplyes of the Saints, *ſacrifices*, *Phil.4.*

Hence alſo as it is impoſſible for *naturall* men to bee capable of *Gods worſhip*, and to feed, be nouriſhed and edified by any ſpirituall ordinance, no more then a *dead childe* can *ſucke* the breaſt, or a *dead man feaſt*:

So alſo is it as impoſſible for a *dead man* yet lodged in the grave of Nature to contribute ſpiritually (I meane according to *Scriptures* rule) as for a *dead man* to pay a *reckoning*.

I queſtion not but naturall men may for the outward act *preach*, *pray*, *contribute*, &c. but neither are they worſhippers ſuitable to him

who

who is a Spirit (*Iohn* 4.) nor can they (least of all) bee forced to worship or the maintenance of it, without a guilt of their hypocrisie.

Peace. They will say, what is to be done for their soules?

Truth. The *Apostles* (whom wee professe to imitate) preached the *Word* of the *Lord* to unbeleevers, without mingling in *worship* with them, and such *Preachers* and preaching such as pretend to be the true *Ministry* of *Christ*, ought to be and practise: Not forcing them all their dayes to come to *Church* and pay their *duties*, either so confessing that this is their *Religion* unto which they are forced: or else that (as before) they are forced to be of no Religion all their dayes.

The way to subdue *Rebels* is not by *correspondence* and *communion* with them, by forcing them to keepe the *City Watches*, and pay *Assessments*, &c. which all may be practised (upon compulsion) treacherously, the first work with such is powerfully to subdue their judgments and wills, to lay downe their *weapons*, and yeeld willing subjection: then come they orderly into the City, and so to Citie priviledges.

Rebels not subdued by compliance, but resistance.

CHAP. CVI.

Peace. PLease you now (deare Truth) to discusse the *Scriptures* from the *Old Testament*, *Nehem* 13. and 2 *Chron.* 31.

Truth. God gave unto that *Nationall Church* of the Jewes that excellent Land of *Canaan*, and therein *Houses* furnished, *Orchards*, *Gardens*, *Vineyards*, *Olive yards*, *Fields*, *Wells*, &c. they might well in this settled abundance, and the promised continuation and increase of it afford a large temporall supply to their *Priests* and *Levites*, even to the *Tenth* of all they did possesse.

The nationall Church of the Jewes might well be forced to a settled maintenance of their priests but not so the Christian Church.

Gods people are now in the *Gospel* brought into a spirituall land of *Canaan*, flowing with spirituall milk and honey, and they abound with *spirituall* and heavenly *comforts*, though in a poore and *persecuted condition*, therefore an inforced setled maintenance is not suitable to the *Gospel*, as it was to the *Ministry* of *Priests* and *Levites* in the *Law*.

Secondly, in the change of the Church estate, there was also a change of the *Priesthood* and of the *Law*, *Heb.* 7. Nor did the *Lord Iesus* appoint that in his *Church*, and for the maintenance of his

Miniſtrie, the *Civill ſword* of the *Magiſtrate*, but that the Spirituall Sword of the Miniſtrie ſhould alone compell.

The Civill Sword of the Nationall Church of the Jewes could not type out a Civill, but a Spirituall Sword of the Chriſtian Church.

3. Therefore the *compulſion* uſed under *Hezekiah* and *Nehemiah*, was by the *civill* and *corporall* Sword, a type (in that typicall State) not of another *materiall* and *corporall*, but of an heavenly and ſpirituall, even the *ſword* of the *Spirit*, with which *Chriſt* fighteth, *Revel.*3. which is exceeding ſharpe, entring in between the *ſoule* and *ſpirit*, Heb.4. and bringing every thought into *captivitie* to the *obedience* of *Chriſt Jeſus*: He that ſubmits not at the ſhaking of this *ſword*, is cut off by it; and he that deſpiſeth this *ſword*, all the power in the *World* cannot make him a true *worſhipper*, or by his purſe a mainteiner of *Gods worſhip*.

No man ſhould be bound to worſhip, nor maintaine a Worſhip againſt his own conſent.

Laſtly, If any man profeſſing to be a *Miniſter* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, ſhall bring men before the *Magiſtrate* (as the practice hath been, both in *Old* and *New England*) for not paying him his *wages* or his due: I aske (if the voluntarie conſent of the party hath not obliged him) how can either the officers of the *Pariſh*, *Church*, or of the *Civill State* compell this or that man to pay ſo much (more or leſſe) to maintaine ſuch a *Worſhip* or *Miniſtrie*? I ask further, if the determining what is each mans due to pay, why may they not determine the tenth and more, as ſome deſired (others oppoſing) in *New England*, and force men not only to maintenance, but to a *Jewiſh* maintenance.

Peace. Yea but (ſay they) is not the *Labourer* worthy of his hire?

Chriſts labourers worthy of their hire, but from them that hire them

Truth. Yes, from them that hire him, from the *Church*, to whom he laboureth or miniſtreth, not from the *Civill State*: no more then the Miniſter of the Civill State is worthy of his hire from the Church, but from the Civill State, (in which I grant the perſons in the Church ought to be aſſiſtant in their Civill reſpects.)

Peace. What maintenance (ſay they) ſhall the Miniſtrie of the Goſpell have?

What maintenance Chriſt hath appointed his Miniſters in the Goſpell.

Truth. We finde two wayes of maintenance for the Miniſtrie of the Goſpell, propoſed for our direction in the New Teſtament.

Firſt, the free and willing contribution of the Saints, according to 1 *Cor.*16, *Luc.*8.3. &c. upon which both the Lord Jeſus, and his Miniſters lived.

Secondly, the diligent worke and labour of their owne hands,

as

a Paul tells the Theſſalonians, and that in two caſes:

1. Either in the inabilities and neceſſities of the Church.

2. Or for the greater advantage of Chriſts truth; as when *Paul* ſaw it would more advantage the name of Chriſt, he denies himſelfe, and falls to worke amongſt the Corinthians and Theſſalonians.

Let none call theſe caſes extraordinary: for if perſecution be the portion of Chriſts ſheep, and the *buſines* or *worke* of *Chriſt* muſt be deareſt to us then our right eyes or lives, ſuch as will follow *Paul*, and follow the *Lord Jeſus*, muſt not thinke much at, but rejoyce in *poverties, neceſſities, hunger, cold, nakedneſſe*, &c. The *Stewards* of *Chriſt Jeſus* muſt be like their *Lord*, and abhorre to ſteale as the evill *Steward*, pretending that he ſhamed to beg, but peremptorily, dig he could not.

CHAP. CVII.

Peace. ONe and the laſt branch (deare *Truth*) remaines concerning Schooles.

"The *Churches* (ſay they) much depend upon the *Schooles*, and "the *Schooles* upon the *Magiſtrates*.

Truth. I honour *Schooles* for *Tongues* and *Arts*: but the *inſtitution* of *Europes Univerſities*, devoting perſons (as is ſaid) for *Scholars*, in a *Monaſticall* way, forbidding *Mariage* and Labour to, I hold as far from the mind of Ieſus Chriſt, as it is from propagating his Name and Worſhip.

Univerſities of Europe a cauſe of univerſall ſins & plagues, yet Schooles honourable for Tongues and Arts.

We count the Univerſities the Fountaines, the Seminaries or Seed-plots of all Pietie: but have not thoſe Fountaines ever ſent what ſtreames the Times have liked? and ever changed their taſte and colour to the Princes eye and Palate?

For any depending of the Church of Chriſt upon ſuch Schooles, I finde not a tittle in the Teſtament of Chriſt Ieſus.

I finde the *Church* of Chriſt frequently compared to a *Schoole*: All *Beleevers* are his *Diſciples* or *Scholars*, yea *women* alſo, *Acts* 9.36. There was a certaine *Diſciple* or *Scholar* called *Dorcas*.

Chriſts church his Schoole, and all Beleevers Scholars.

Have not the *Univerſities* ſacrilegiouſly ſtole this bleſſed name of *Chriſts Scholars* from his people? Is not the very Scripture language it ſelfe become *abſurd*, to wit, to call *Gods* people, eſpecially Women (as *Dorcas*) *Scholars*?

Peace. Some will object, how shall the *Scriptures* be brought to *light* from out of *Popish darkenesse*, except these *Schooles* of *Prophets* convey them to us?

Truth. I know no *Schooles* of *Prophets* in the *New Testament*, but the particular *Congregation* of *Christ Jesus*, 1 Cor. 14. And I question whether any thing but Sinne stopt and dried up the *current* of the *Spirit* in those rare *gifts* of *tongues* to Gods *sons* & *daughters*, serving so admirably both for the understanding of the *Originall* Scriptures, and also for the propagating of the name of *Christ*.

Who knowes but God may againe powre forth the gifts of Tongues?

Who knowes but that it may please the *Lord* againe to cloath his people with a spirit of *zeale* and *courage* for the name of *Christ*, yea and powre forth those fiery streames againe of *Tongues* and *Prophecie* in the *restauration* of *Zion*?

Tongues attainable out of Oxford or Cambridge.

If it be not his holy pleasure so to doe, but that his people with daily study and labour must *dig* to come at the *Originall Fountaines*, *Gods people* have many wayes (besides the Universitie, *lazie* and *Monkish*) to attaine to an excellent measure of the knowledge of those *tongues*.

Mr. Ainsworth

That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. *Ainsworth*, had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand *Academians* for the Scripture *Originalls*, and yet he scarce set foot within a *Colledge* walls.

CHAP. CVIII.

Peace. I Shall now present you with their 16. Head, viz. concerning the Magistrates power in matters of Doctrine.

"That which is unjustly ascribed to the Pope, is as unjustly a-
"scribed to the Magistrates, viz. to have power of making new
"Articles of Faith, or Rules of Life, or of pressing upon the Chur-
"ches to give such publike honour to the Apocrypha writings, or
"Homilies of men, as to read them to the people in the roome of
"the Oracles of God.

Truth This *Position* simply considered I acknowledge a most holy truth of *God*, both against the *Pope*, and the *Civill Magistrate* challenge, both pretending to be the *Vicars* of *Christ Jesus* upon the *Earth*. Yet two things here I shall propose to *consideration*.

First, since the *Parliament* of *England* thrust the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and set downe *King Henry* the 8. and his *Succes-*

sours

fours in the *Popes* roome, eſtabliſhing them ſupreme *Governours* of the *Church* of *England*, ſince ſuch an abſolute *government* is given by all men to them to be *Guardians* of the firſt *Table* and *worſhip* of *God*; to ſet up the true *worſhip*, to ſuppreſſe all *falſe*, and that by the power of the *Sword*, and therefore conſequently they muſt judge and determine what the *true* is, and what the *falſe*.

King Henry the 8. ſet down in the Popes chaire in England.

And ſince the *Magiſtrate* is bound (by theſe *Authours* principles) to ſee the *Church*, the *Church* officers and members doe their duty, he muſt therefore judge what is the *Churches* duty, and when ſhe performes or not performes it, or when ſhe exceeds, ſo likewiſe when the *Miniſters* performe their duty, or when they exceed it.

If the Magiſtrate muſt puniſh in Spirituall cafes, he muſt of neceſſity be judge in Spirituall cauſes alſo.

And if the *Magiſtrate* muſt judge, then certainly by his owne *eye*, and not by the *eyes* of others, though aſſembled in a *National* or *Generall Councell*.

Then alſo upon his judgement muſt the people reſt, as upon the minde and judgement of Chriſt, or elſe it muſt be confeſt that he hath no ſuch power left him by Chriſt to compell the ſoules of men in matters of Gods worſhip.

Apocripha, Common-Prayer and Homilies, pretious to our forefathers.

Secondly, concerning the *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* to be urged by the Magiſtrate to be read unto the people as the *Oracles* of *God*: I aske if the *Homilies* of *England* contain not in them much pretious and heavenly matter? Secondly, if they were not penn'd (at leaſt many of them) by *excellent* men for *learning*, *holineſſe*, and *witneſſe* of *Chriſts Truth* incomparable. Thirdly, were they not authoriſed by that moſt rare and pious *Prince Ed. 6.* then *head* of the *Church* of *England*? With what great ſolemnity and rejoycing were they received of thouſands?

Yet now behold their *children* after them ſharply cenſure them for *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* thruſt into the roome of the *Word* of *God*, and ſo falling into the *conſideration* of a falſe and counterfeit *Scripture*.

A caſe.

I demand of theſe worthy men whether a ſervant of God might then lawfully have refuſed to read or heare ſuch a falſe Scripture?

Secondly, if ſo, whether *King Edward* might have lawfully compelled ſuch a man to yeeld and ſubmit, or elſe have perſecuted him, yea (according to the Authors principles) whether he ought to have ſpared him, becauſe after the *admonitions* of ſuch pious and learned men, this man ſhall now prove an *Heretick*, and as an obſtinate perſon ſinning againſt the *light* of his owne *conſcience*?

In

In this case what shall the *conscience* of the subject doe, awed by the *dread* of the most *High*? What shall the *conscience* of the *Magistrate* do, zealous for his glorious *Reformation*, being constantly perswaded by his *Clergy* of his *Lieutenantship* received from *Christ*?

Reformations are fallible.

Again, what *priviledge* have those worthy servants of *God* either in *Old* or *New England*, to be exempted from the mistakes, into which those glorious *Worthies* in *K. Edwards* time did fall? and if so, what

Bloudy conclusions.

bloudy *conclusions* are presented to the World, perswading men to plucke up by the *Roots* from the Land of the living, all such as seem in their eyes heretical or obstinate?

CHAP. CIX.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, What darke and dismall bloudy paths doe we walke in? How is thy name and mine in all ages cried up, yet as an English Flag in a Spanish bottome, not in truth but dangerous treachery and abuse both of *Truth* and *Peace*?

11 Head. We are now come to the 11 Head which concernes the Magistrates power in worship.

"First, they have power (say they) to reforme things in the "worship of God in a Church corrupted, and to establish the pure "worship of God, defending the same by the power of the sword "against all those who shall attempt to corrupt it.

"For first, the reigning of Idolatry and corruption in Religion "is imputed to the want of a King, *Judges* 17.5,6.

"Secondly, Remissenes in Reforming Religion, is a fault impu-"ted to them who suffered the High Places in *Israel* and in *Galia*, "who cared not for such things, *Acts* 18.

"Thirdly, Forwardnesse this way is a duty not only for Kings "in the Old Testament, but for Princes under the New, 1 *Tim* 2.2. "*Rom.* 13.4. *Esay* 49.23. Neither did the Kings of *Israel* reforme "things amisse as types of Christ, but as Civill Magistrates, and so "exemplary to all Christians. And here Reformation in Religion "is commendable in a Persian King, *Ezra* 7.23. And it is well "knowne that remissenes in Princes of Christendome in matters of "Religion and Worship (divolving the care thereof only to the "Clergy, and so setting the Hornes thereof upon the Churches "head) hath been the cause of Antichristian inventions, usurpati-"ons and corruptions in the Worship and Temple of God.

"Se

"Secondly, they have not power to presse upon the Churches, "stinted Prayers, or set Liturgies, whether New or Old, Popish, or "others under colour of uniformity of Worship, or morall good- "nesse of them both for matter and forme, conceiving our argu- "ments sent to our Brethren in *England* concerning this Question "to evince this Truth.

"Thirdly, they have no power to presse upon the Churches, nei- "ther by Law (as hath been said before) nor by Proclamation and "command, any sacred significant ceremonies, whether more or "lesse, Popish or Jewish rite, or any other device of man, be it ne- "ver so little in the worship of God, under what colour soever of "indifferencie, civility, using them without opinion of sanctity, "publicke peace or obedience to righteous Authority, as Surplice, "Crosse, kneeling at Sacrament; Salt and Spitle in Baptisme, Ho- "ly dayes: They having beene so accursed of God, so abused by "man, the imposing of some ever making way for the urging of "more, the receiving of some making the conscience bow to the "burthen of all.

"Fourthly, they have not power to governe and rule the acts of "worship in the Church of God.

"It is with a Magistrate in a State, in respect of the acts of those "who worship in a Church, as it is with a Prince in a Ship, where- "in, though he be governour of their persons (else he should not "be their Prince) yet is not governour of the actions of the Mari- "ners (then he should be Pilot:) Indeed if the Pilot shall mani- "festly erre in his action, he may reprove him, and so any other "passenger may: Or if he offend against the life and goods of any, "he may in due time and place civilly punish him, which no other "passenger can doe: For, it is proper to Christ, the Head of the "Church, as to prescribe, so to rule the actions of his own worship "in the wayes of his servants, *Esay* 9 6,7. The government of the "Church is upon his shoulder, which no Civill officer ought to at- "tempt: And therefore Magistrates have no power to limit a Mi- "nister either to what he shall preach or pray, or in what manner "they shall worship God, lest hereby they shall advance themselves "above Christ, and limit his Spirit.

Truth. In this generall Head are proposed two things.

First, what the Magistrate ought to doe positively concerning the worship of God.

Secondly, what he may doe in the worſhip of God.

What he ought to doe is compriſed in theſe particulars.

Firſt, he ought to reforme the worſhip of God when it is corrupted.

Secondly, he ought to eſtabliſh a pure worſhip of God.

Thirdly, he ought to defend it by the ſword: he ought to reſtrain Idolatry by the ſword, and to cut off *offendours*, as former paſſages have opened.

For the proofe of this poſitive part of his duty are propounded three ſorts of Scriptures.

Firſt, from the practice of the *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*.

Secondly, ſome from the New *Teſtament*.

Thirdly, from the practice of *Kings* of other *Nations*.

Unto which I anſwer.

The argument from the Babylonian and Perſian kings re-minded.

Firſt, concerning this latter, the *Babylonian* and *Perſian Kings*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes*: I conceive I have ſufficiently before proved, that theſe *Idolatrous Princes* making ſuch *Acts* concerning the *God* of *Iſrael*, whom they did not *worſhip* nor *know*, nor meant ſo to doe, did onely *permit* and tolerate, and *countenance* the *Jewiſh worſhip*, and out of ſtrong *convictions* that this *God* of Iſrael was able to doe them good (as well as their owne *gods*) to bring wrath upon them and their *Kingdomes*, as they beleeved their owne alſo did, in which reſpect all the *Kings* of the *world* may be eaſily brought to the like: but are no *preſident* or *patternes* for all *Princes* and *Civill Magiſtrates* in the *World*, to chalenge or aſſume the *power* of *ruling* or *governing* the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and of wearing the ſpirituall *Crowne* of the *Lord*, which he alone weareth in a *ſpirituall* way by his *Officers* and *Governours* after his owne holy appointment.

Secondly, for thoſe of the New *Teſtament* I have (as I beleeve) fully and ſufficiently anſwered.

So alſo that propheſie of *Iſa.* 49.

The preſident of the Kings and Governours of Iſrael and Judah examined.

Laſtly, however I have often touched thoſe Scriptures produced from the practice of the *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*: yet becauſe ſo great a *waight* of this controverſie lyes upon this *preſident* of the *Old Teſtament*, from the duties of this *nature* ever joyned to thoſe *Kings* and *Governours*, and their practices, *obeying* or *diſobeying*, accordingly *commended* or *reproved*. I ſhall (with the helpe of *Chriſt Ieſus*, the true *King* of *Iſrael*) declare and demonſtrate how weake

and

nd brittle this ſuppoſed *Pillar* of *Marble* is, to beare up and ſuſtain ſuch a mighty burthen and waight of ſo many high concernments as are laid upon it. In which I ſhall evidently prove that the *ſtate* of *Iſrael* as a *Nationall State* made up of *Spirituall* and *Civill power*, ſo farre as it attended upon the *ſpirituall*, was meerly figurative and typing out the *Chriſtian Churches* conſiſting of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, enjoying the true power of the *Lord Ieſus*, eſtabliſhing, reforming, correcting, defending in all caſes concerning his *Kingdome* and *Government*.

The ſtate of Iſrael relating to ſpirituall matters proved typicall.

CHAP. CX.

Peace. BLeſſed be the *God* of *Truth*, the *God* of *Peace*, who hath ſo long preſerved us in this our retired *conference* without *interruptions*: His *mercy* ſtill ſhields us while you expreſſe and I liſten to that ſo much *imitated*, yet moſt *unimitable State* of *Iſrael*.

Yet before you deſcend to *particulars* (deare Truth) let me caſt one *Mite* into your great *Treaſury* concerning that Inſtance (juſt now mentioned) of the *Perſian Kings*.

The Perſian Kings make evidently againſt ſuch as produce them for maintenance of the doctrine of perſecution.

Me thinkes thoſe *preſidents* of *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* are ſtrong againſt *New Englands Tenent* and *practice*. Thoſe *Princes* profeſſedly gave free *permiſſion* and bountifull *incouragement* to the *Conſciences* of the *Iewes*, to uſe and practiſe their *Religion*, which *Religion* was moſt eminently contrary to their owne *Religion* and their Countries worſhip.

Truth. I ſhall (ſweet Peace) with more delight paſſe on theſe rough wayes, from your kinde acceptance and unwearied patience in attention.

In this diſcovery of that vaſt and mighty difference betweene that State of Iſrael and all other States (onely to bee matched and parallel'd by the Chriſtian Church or Iſrael) I ſhall ſelect ſome maine and principall conſiderations concerning that State wherein the irreconciliable *differences* and diſproportion may appeare.

The Land of Canaan choſen by God to be the ſeat of the Church, but under the New Teſtament all Nations alike.

Firſt, I ſhall conſider the very *Land* and *Country* of *Canaan* it ſelfe, and preſent ſome *conſiderations* proving it to be a *None-ſuch*.

Firſt, this *Land* was eſpyed out and choſen by the *Lord* out of all the *Countries* of the *World* to be the ſeat of his Church and people, *Ezek.* 20 6.

But now there is no reſpect of *Earth*, of *Places* or *Countries* with the *Lord*: So teſtified the *Lord Ieſus Chriſt* himſelfe to the

woman of *Samaria* (*Iohn* 4.) professing that neither at that *Mountaine* nor at *Ierusalem* should men *worship* the *Father*.

While that Nationall State of the *Church* of the *Iewes* remained, the Tribes were bound to goe up to *Ierusalem* to *worship*, *Psal.* 122. But now, *in every Nation* (not the whole Land or Country as it was with Canaan) he that feareth God and worketh righteousnesse is accepted with him, *Act.* 10. 35. This then appeared in that large Commission of the Lord Jesus to his first Ministers: Goe into *all Nations*, and not onely into Canaan, to carry tidings of Mercy, &c.

Secondly, the former Inhabitants thereof, seven great and mightie *Nations* (*Deuter.* 7.) were all devoted to destruction by the Lords owne mouth, which was to bee performed by the impartiall hand of the Children of Israel, without any sparing or shewing *Mercy*.

The inhabitants of Canaans Land every soule to be put to death that the Israelites might enjoy their possessions: not so now.

But so now it hath not pleased the Lord to devote any people to present Destruction, commanding his people to kill and slay without *Covenant* or *Compassion*, *Deuteronomy* 7. 2.

Where have *Emperours*, *Kings*, or *Generals* an immediate call from God to destroy whole Cities, City after City, Men, women, Children, Old and Young, as *Ioshua* practised? *Ioshua* 6. and 10. Chapters, &c.

This did Israel to these seven Nations, that they themselves might succeed them in their Cities, Habitations, and Possessions.

This onely is true in a spirituall *Antitype*, when Gods people by the Sword (the two-edged Sword of *Gods Spirit*) slay the ungodly and become *Heires*, yea fellow *Heires* with *Christ Iesus*, *Romanes* 8. *Gods* meeke people inherit the earth, (*Matthew* 5.) They mystically like *Noah* (*Hebrewes* 11.) condemne the whole unbeleeving World, both by present and future sentence, 2 *Corinth.* 6. 2.

CHAP. CXI.

THirdly the very *materials*, the *Gold* and *Silver* of the Idols of this Land were odious and abominable, and dangerous to the people of *Israel*, that they might not desire it, nor take it to themselves

selves, *Deut.* 7. 25. 26. lest themselves also become a *curse*, and like unto those cursed abominable things. Whereas we finde not any such accursed *nature* in the *materials* of *Idols* or *Images* now, but that (the *Idolatrous formes* being changed) the *silver* and *gold* may be cast and coyned, and other *materialls* lawfully employed and used.

The very materiall gold & silver of Canaans Images typically to be abhorred.

Yet this we finde in the *Antitype*, that *gold*, *silver*, yea *house*, *land*, yea *wives*, *children*, yea *life* it selfe, as they allure and draw us from *God* in *Christ*, are to be abominated and hated by us, without which *hatred* and *indignation* against the most plausible and pleasing enticings from *CHRIST JESUS*, it is impossible for any man to bee a true *Christian*, Luke 14. 26.

Fourthly, this Land, this *Earth* was an *Holy land*, Zach. 2. 12. Ceremonially and typically *holy*, *Fields*, *Gardens*, *Orchards*, *Houses*, &c. which *Holines* the World knowes not now in one *Land*, or *Country*, *House*, *Field*, *Garden*, &c. one above another.

The Land of Canaan ceremonially holy.

Yet in the Spirituall *Land of Canaan* the *Christian Church*, all things are made holy and pure (in all Lands) to the pure, *Tit.* 1. meats and drinkes are sanctified, that is, dedicated to the holy use of the thankfull *Believers*, 1 Tim. 4. yea and the *unbelieving Husband*, *Wife*, and their Children are sanctified and made holy to *Believers*, insomuch that that golden inscription (peculiar to the *forehead* of the *High Priest*) *Holines to Jehovah*, shall be written upon the very *Bridles* of the *Horses*, as all are dedicated to the service of *Christ Jesus* in the Gospels peace and holines.

Greater holynesse in the Antitype under the Gospel, then in the types under the Law.

Fifthly, the Lord expresly calls it his own Land, *Levit.* 25 23. *Hos.* 9 3 *Jehovah* his Land, a terme proper unto Spirituall *Canaan*, the *Church* of *God*, which must needs be in respect of his choice of that *Land* to be the Seate and Residence of his *Church* and *Ordinances*.

The Land of Canaan Jehovahs Land.

But now the partition *wall* is broken down, and in respect of the *Lords* speciall propriete to one Country more then another, what difference between *Asia* and *Africa*, between *Europe* and *America*, between *England* and *Turkie*, *London* and *Constantinople*?

This Land (among many other glorious *Titles* given to it) was called *Emanuels* land, that is, *God* with us, *Christ* his land, or *Christian* land, *Isa* 8. 8.

Emanuels Land: so no Land or country more then another.

But now: *Jerusalem* from above is not materiall and Earthly, but

but Spirituall, *Gal.*4. *Heb.*12. *Materiall Jerusalem* is no more the *Lords* citie then *Jericho*, *Ninivie*, or *Babell* (in respect of place or Countrey) for even at *Babell* literall was a *Church* of *Jesus Christ*, 1 *Pet.*5.

It is true that *Antichrist* hath *christned* all those *Countries* whereon the *Whore* sitteth, *Revel* 17. with the Title of *Christs land*, or *Christian land*.

The Blasphemous titles of the Christned and Christian World.

And *Hundius*, in his *Map* of the *Christian* World, makes this land to extend to all *Asia*, a great part of *Africa*, all *Europe*, and a vast part of *America*, even so farre as his *unchristian Christenings* hath gone. But as every false *Christ* hath *false Teachers*, *false Christians*, *false Faith*, *Hope*, *Love*, &c. and in the end *false Salvation*, so doth he also counterfeit the false Name of *Christ*, *Christians*, *Christian* land or Countrey.

Sixthly, this Land was to keepe her *Sabbaths* unto *God*: Sixe yeares they were to sow their *Fields*, and prune their *Vines*, but in the 7. yeare they were not to sow their *Fields*, nor prune their *Vineyards*, but to eat that which grew of it selfe or own accord.

The materiall Land of Canaan was to keep her Sabboths, so no materiall land or Country now.

But such *Observations* doth not *God* now lay upon any Fields, Vineyards, &c. under the Gospell.

God feedeth his sometimes immediately.

Yet in the Spirituall land of *Canaan*, the true *Church*, there is a Spirituall *Soule-rest* or *Sabbath*, a quiet depending upon *God*, a living by *Faith* in him, a making him our *portion*, and casting all care upon him who careth for us: yea sometimes he feedeth his by immediate gracious workes of *Providence*, when comforts arise out of the *Earth*, without secondary meanes or causes, as here, or as elsewhere *Manna* descended from *Heaven*.

Seventhly, such portions and possessions of *Lands*, *Fields*, *Houses*, *Vineyards*, were sold with *caution* or *proviso* of returning againe in the yeare of *Jubilee* to the right owners, *Levit.*25.23.

Such *cautions*, such *provisos* are not now injoyned by *God* in the sale of *lands*, *fields*, *inheritances*, nor no such *Jubilee* or *Redemption* to be expected.

The Jubilee of Canaan a type of restitution and redemption in the Gospell.

Yet this also finds a fulfilling in the *spirituall Canaan*, or *Church* of *God*, unto which the *silver Trumpet* of *Jubilee*, the *Gospel*, hath sounded a spirituall *restitution* of all their spirituall *rights* and *inheritances*, which either they have lost in the fall of the first man *Adam*, or in their particular falls, when they are captive and sold unto sin, *Rom.*7. Or lastly in the spirituall *captivitie* of *Babels bondage*: how

sweet

ſweet then is the name of a *Saviour*, in whom is the joyfull ſound of *Deliverance* and *Redemption*!

Eightly, this Land or Country was a figure or type of the kingdome of *Heaven* above, begun here below in the *Church* and *Kingdome* of *God*, *Heb.*4.8. *Heb.*11.9.10. Hence was a *Birthright* ſo pretious in *Canaans* Land: Hence *Naboth* ſo inexorable and reſolute in refuſing to part with his Inheritance to King *Ahab*, counting all *Ahabs* ſeeming *reaſonable* offers moſt *unreaſonable*, as ſoliciting him to part with a *Garden* plot of *Canaans* land, though his refuſall coſt him his very life.

Canaans land a type of the Kingdome of God on Earth and in Heaven

Why Naboth refuſed to part with a Garden plot to his King upon hazard of his life.

What *Land*, what *Country* now is *Iſraels Parallel* and *Antitype*, but that holy *myſticall* Nation the *Church* of *God*, peculiar and called out to him out of every Nation and Country, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. In which every true *ſpirituall Naboth* hath his *ſpirituall inheritance*, which he dares not part with, though it be to his *King* or *Soveraigne*, and though ſuch his *refuſall* coſt him this preſent life.

CHAP. CXII.

Peace. DOubtleſſe that *Canaan* Land was not a patterne for all *Lands*: It was a *none-ſuch*, *unparalleld* and unmatchable.

Truth. Many other *conſiderations* of the ſame nature I might annex, but I picke here and there a flowre, and paſſe on to a ſecond Head concerning the people themſelves, wherein the ſtate of the people ſhall appeare unmatchable, but only by the true Church and Iſrael of God.

The difference of the people of Iſrael and all other Peo-ple's.

First, the people of Iſrael were all the Seed or Off-ſpring of one man *Abraham*, *Pſal.* 105. 6. and ſo downward the Seed of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, hence called the *Iſrael* of *God*, that is, *wraſtlers* and *prevailers* with *God*, diſtinguiſhed into twelve *Tribes* all ſprung out of *Iſraels* loynes.

The people of Iſrael the ſeed of one man.

But now, few *Nations* of the World but are a mixed Seed, the people of *England* eſpecially the *Britaines*, *Picts*, *Romanes*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, by a wonderfull providence of *God* being become one *Engliſh* people.

Only the Spirituall *Iſrael* and Seed of *God* the New-borne are but one: *Chriſt* is the Seed, *Gal.* 3. and they only that are *Chriſts* are only *Abrahams* Seed and Heires according to the promiſe.

Only made good in the Spirituall ſeed, the regenerate or new-borne.

This Spirituall Seed is the only *Antitype* of the former figurative and

and typicall: A *Seed* which all *Christians* ought to propagate, yea even the *unmarried* men and women (who are not capable of *naturall off spring*) for thus is this called the Seed of *Christ* (who lived and died unmarried *Isa.*59.21.

Secondly, this people was selected and separated to the *Lord*, his *Covenant* and *Worship* from all the *people* and *Nations* of the *World* beside to be his peculiar and onely people, *Levit.*20.26.&c.

The people of Israel separate from all Nations in Spirituall and in some Civill things.

Therefore such as returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, they separated themselves to eat the *Passeover*, *Ezra* 6 And in that solemne *humiliation* and *confession* before the *Lord*, *Nehem* 9. the *children* of *Israel* separated themselves from all strangers.

This separation of theirs was so famous, that it extended not only to *Circumcision*, the *Passeover*, and matters of *Gods worship*, but even to *temporall* and *civill* things: Thus (*Ezra* 9) they separated or put away their very wives, which they had taken of the strange *Nations* contrary to the Commandement of the *Lord*.

No Nation so separated to God in the Gospel, but only the new borne Israel that feare God in every Nation.

But where hath the *God* of *Heaven* in the *Gospel* separated whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* (*English*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, *French*, *Dutch*, &c.) as a peculiar people and *Antitype* of the people of *Israel*? Yea where the least footing in all the Scripture for a *Nationall Church* after *Christs* comming?

Can any people in the *world* patterne this *samplar* but the *New-borne Israel*, such as feare *God* in every *Nation* (*Acts* 10.35.) commanded to come forth and separate from all uncleane things or persons, (2 *Cor.* 6.) and though not bound to put away strange wives as Israel did, because of that peculiar respect upon them in *Civill* things, yet to be holy or set apart to the *Lord* in all manner of *civill conversation*, 1 *Pet.* 1. Only to marry in the *Lord*, yea and to marry as if they married not 1 *Cor* 7. yea to hate *wife* and *children*, *father*, *mother*, *house* and *land*, yea and life it selfe for the *Lord Jesus*, *Luc.* 14.

The whole people of Israel miraculously brought forth of Egypt.

Thirdly, this Seed of *Abraham* thus separate from all people unto the *Lord* was wonderfully redeemed and brought from *Egypts bondage* through the *Red Sea*, and the *Wildernesse* unto the Land of *Canaan*, by many strange signes and wonderfull *miracles*, wrought by the outstretched hand of the *Lord*, famous and dreadfull, and to be admired by all succeeding *peoples* and *generations*, *Deut* 4.32,33,34. Aske now from one side of the *Heaven* unto the other, whether there hath been such a thing as this, &c?

And

And we may aske againe from one side of the Heaven unto the other whether the Lord hath now so miraculously redeemed and brought unto *Himselfe* any *Nation* or people as he did this people of Israel.

Not so any whole Nation now.

Peace. The *English*, *Scotch*, *Dutch*, &c. are apt to make themselves the parallels, as wonderfully come forth of Popery, &c.

Truth. 1. But first, whole Nations are no Churches under the Gospel.

Secondly, bring the *Nations* of *Europe* professing *Protestanisme* to the ballance of the *Sanctuary*, and ponder well whether the *body*, *bulke*, the generall or one hundreth part of such peoples be truly turned to *God* from *Popery*.

Popery not so easily turned from as is conceived.

Who knowes not how easie it is to turne, and turne, and turn againe whole *Nations* from one *Religion* to another?

Who knowes not that within the compasse of one poore *span* of 12 yeares revolution, all *England* hath become from halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*, to be absolute *Protestants*; from absolute *Protestants*, to absolute *Papists*; from absolute *Papists* (changing as fashions) to absolute *Protestants*?

Wonderfull turnings in Religion in 12 yeares compasse in England.

I will not say (as some worthy witnesses of *Christ* have uttered) that all *England* and *Europe* must againe submit their faire necks to the *Popes* yoake: But this, I say, many *Scriptures* concerning the destruction of the *Beast* and the *Whore* looke that way: And I adde, they that feele the pulse of the people seriously must confesse that a *victorious Sword*, and a *Spanish Inquisition* will soone make millions face about as they were in the Fore-Fathers times.

The Pope not unlike to recover his Monarchie over Europe before his downfall.

CHAP. CXIII.

Peace. O That the *Steersmen* of the *Nations* might remember this, Bee wise and kisse the Sonne, lest he goe on in this His dreadfull anger, and dash them in peeces here and eternally.

Truth. I therefore thirdly adde, That only such as are *Abrahams* Seed, *circumcised* in Heart, *New-borne*, *Israel* (or *wrastlers* with *God*) are the *Antitype* of the former *Israel*, these are only the holy *Nation* (1 *Pet.* 2.) wonderfully redeemed from the *Egypt* of this *World* (*Titus* 2.14.) brought through the *Red Sea* of *Baptisme* (1 *Cor.* 10.) through the wildernesse of *afflictions*, and of the *peoples* (*Deut.* 8.

Who are now the true Seed of Abraham.

*Ezek.*20.) into the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* begun below, even that *Christian* Land of *Promise*, where flow the everflowing ſtreames and Rivers of Spirituall milke and honey.

Fourthly, All this people univerſally (in typicall and ceremoniall reſpect) were holy and cleane in this their *ſeparation* and *ſequeſtration* unto *God*, *Exod.*19.5. Hence, even in reſpect of their naturall birth in that Land they were an *holy Seed*, and *Ezra* makes it the matter of his great complaint, *Ezra* 9.1 2. The holy Seed have mingled themſelves.

The people of Iſrael all holy in a typicall holineſſe.

But where is now that *Nation* or *Country* upon the face of the *Earth*, thus cleane and holy unto *God*, and bound to ſo many ceremoniall cleanſings and purgings?

Are not all the *Nations* of the *Earth* alike cleane unto *God*, or rather alike uncleane, untill it pleaſeth the *Father of mercies* to call ſome out to the *Knowledge* and *Grace* of his Sonne, making them to ſee their *filthineſſe* and ſtrangeneſſe from the *Commonweale* of *Iſrael*, and to waſh in the bloud of the Lambe of *God*.

All Nations now alike ſince the comming of the Lord Jeſus.

This taking away the difference between *Nation* and *Nation*, *Country* and *Country*, is moſt fully and admirably declared in that great viſion of all ſorts of living creatures preſented unto *Peter*, *Acts* 10. whereby it pleaſed the *Lord* to informe *Peter* of the aboliſhing of the difference between *Jew* and *Gentile* in any holy or unholy, cleane or uncleane reſpect.

Fifthly, (not only to ſpeake of all, but to ſelect one or two more) This people of *Iſrael* in that Nationall State were a type of all the Children of *God* in all ages under the profeſſion of the *Goſpel*, who are therefore called the Children of *Abraham*, and the *Iſrael* of *God*, *Gal.*3.& *Gal.*6. A Kingly *Prieſthood* and *holy Nation* (1 *Pet.* 2.9.) in a cleare and manifeſt *Antitype* to the former *Iſrael*, *Exod.* 19.6.

The children of Iſrael a figure of the Iſrael or people of God only under the Goſpel.

Hence *Chriſtians* now are figuratively in this reſpect called *Jewes*, *Rev.* 3. where lies a cleare diſtinction of the *true* and *falſe* Chriſtian under the conſideration of the *true* and *falſe Jew*: Behold I will make them of the Synagogue of *Sathan* that ſay they are Jewes and are not, but doe lie, *Rev.*3. But ſuch a typicall reſpect we finde not now upon any People, *Nation* or *Country* of the whole *World*: But out of all *Nations*, *Tongues* and *Languages* is *God* pleaſed to call ſome and redeem them to Himſelfe (*Rev.*5.9.) And hath made no difference betweene the *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, *Greeks*,

Greekes and *Scithians*, *Gal.* 3. who by *Regeneration* or second birth, become the Israel of *God*, *Gal.* 6. the *Temple* of *God*, 1 *Cor.* 3. and the true *Jerusalem*, *Heb.* 12.

Lastly, all this whole *Nation* or people, as they were of one *typicall seed* of *Abraham*, & sealed with a shamefull & painfull *Ordinance* of *cutting* off the *fore-skin*, wch differenced them from all the *World* beside: So also were they bound to such and such *solemnities* of *figurative worships*. Amongst many others I shall end this passage concerning the people with a famous observation out of *Numb.* 9. 13. viz. All that whole *Nation* was bound to celebrate and keepe the *Feast* of the *Passeover* in his season, or else they were to be put to *death*. But doth God require a whole *Nation*, *Country* or *Kingdome* now thus to celebrate the *spirituall Passeover*, the *Supper* and *Feast* of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, at such a time once a yeare, and that whosoever shall not so doe shall bee put to death? What horrible *prophanations*, what grosse *hypocrisies*, yea what wonderfull *desolations* (sooner or later) must needs follow upon such a course?

The people of Israel differe rent from all the world in their figurative and ceremoniall worships.

Israel Gods only Church might well renew that Nationall Covenant and ceremoniall worship which other Nations cannot imitate.

Tis true, the people of Israel, brought into covenant with *God* in *Abraham*, and so successively borne in Covenant with *God*, might (in that state of a Nationall *Church*) solemnly covenant and sweare that whosoever would not seeke *Jehovah the God of Israel*, should be put to death, 2 *Chron.* 15. whether small or great, whether man or woman.

But may whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* now (according to any one *title* expresst by *Christ Iesus* to that purpose) follow that patterne of *Israel* and put to death all, both men and women, great and small, that according to the rules of the *Gospel* are not borne againe, penitent, humble, heavenly, patient? &c. What a world of hypocrisie from hence is practised by thousands, that for feare will stoope to give that God their bodies in a forme, whom yet in truth their hearts affect not?

The hypocrisies, prophanations, and slaughters which such imitation now in the Gospell produce.

Yea also what a world of prophanation of the holy Name and holy Ordinances of the Lord in prostituting the holy things of God (like the Vessels of the Sanctuary, *Dan.* 5.) to prophane, impenitent and unregenerate persons?

Lastly, what slaughters both of men and women must this necessarily bring into the world, by the Insurrections and Civill Warres about Religion and Conscience? Yea what slaughters of the innocent and faithfull witnesses of Christ Jesus, who choose to bee

ſlaine all the day long for Chriſt his ſake, and to fight for their Lord and Maſter Chriſt, onely with ſpirituall and Chriſtian weapons?

CHAP. CXIV.

Peace. IT ſeemes (deare *Truth*) a mighty *Gulfe* betweene that people and Nation, and the *Nations* of the *world* then extant and ever ſince.

Truth. As ſure as the bleſſed ſubſtance to all thoſe ſhadowes, *Chriſt Ieſus* is come, ſo unmatchable and never to bee paralleld by any *Nationall* State was that *Iſrael* in the *Figure* or *Shadow*

And yet the *Iſrael* of *God* now, the *Regenerate* or *Newborne*, the circumciſed in *Heart* by *Repentance* and *Mortification*, who willingly ſubmit unto the *Lord Ieſus* as their onely *King* and *Head*, may fitly parallell and anſwer that *Iſrael* in the type, without ſuch danger of *hypocriſie*, of ſuch horrible *prophanations*, and of firing the *Civill State* in ſuch bloody *combuſtions*, as all *Ages* have brought forth upon this compelling a whole *Nation* or *Kingdome* to be the *antitype* of *Iſrael*.

Peace. Were this Light entertained, ſome hopes would ſhine forth for my returne and *reſtauration*.

The difference of the Kings and Governours of Iſrael from al Kings & Governors of the world. Firſt, they were all members of the Church.

Truth. I have yet to adde a third *conſideration* concerning the *Kings* and *Governours* of that Land and people.

They were to be (unleſſe in their *captivities*) of their *Brethren*, members of the true *Church* of *God*, as appeares in the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, and the *Iudges* and *Kings* of Iſrael afterward.

But firſt, who can deny but that there may be now many lawfull *Governours*, *Magiſtrates* and *Kings* in the *Nations* of the World, where is no true *Church* of *Ieſus Chriſt*?

Excellent Talents vouchſafed by God to unregenerate perſons.

Secondly, we know the many excellent *gifts* wherewith it hath pleaſed God to furniſh many, inabling them for publike ſervice to their *Countries* both in *Peace* and *War* (as all *Ages* and *Experience* teſtifies) on whoſe ſoules hee hath not yet pleaſed to ſhine in the face of *Ieſus Chriſt*: which *Gifts* and *Talents* muſt all lye buried in the *Earth*, unleſſe ſuch perſons may lawfully be called and choſen to, and improved in *publike ſervice*, notwithſtanding their different or contrary *Conſcience* and *Worſhip*.

A doctrine contrary to all true Piety and Humanity it ſelfe.

Thirdly, if none but true *Chriſtians*, members of *Chriſt Ieſus*, might be *Civill Magiſtrates*, and publikely intruſted with *civill affaires*, then

then none but *members* of *Churches*, *Christians* should be *Husbands of Wives*, *Fathers* of *Children*, *Masters* of *Servants*: But against this *doctrine* the whole *creation*, the *whole World* may justly rise up in armes, as not onely contrary to true *Piety*, but common *Humanity* it selfe. For if a *Commonweale* bee lawfull amongst men that have not heard of *God* nor *Christ*, certainly their *Officers*, *Ministers*, and *Governours* must be lawfull also.

Fourthly, it is notoriously knowne to be the dangerous *doctrine* profest by some *Papists*, that *Princes* degenerating from their *Religion*, and turning *Heretickes*, are to be deposed, and their *Subjects* actually discharged from their obedience. Which *doctrine* all such must necessarily hold (however most loath to owne it) that hold the *Magistrate Guardian* of both *Tables*, and consequently such an one as is inabled to judge, yea and to demonstrate to all men the *worship* of *God*: yea and being thus *Governor* and *Head* of the *Church* he must necessarily be a part of it himselfe: which when by *Heresie* he falls from (though it may be by *Truth*, miscalled *Heresie*) he falls from his calling of *Magistracy*, and is utterly disabled from his (pretended) *guardianship* and *government* of the Church.

The Papists doctrine of deposing Magistrates confessed in effect to be true by the Protestants.

Lastly, we may remember the practice of the *Lord Iesus* and his *followers*, commanding and practising *obedience* to the *Higher Powers*, though we finde not one *Civill Magistate* a *Christian* in all the *first Churches*. But contrarily the *civill Magistrate* at that time was the bloody *Beast*, made up (as *Daniel* seemes to imply concerning the *Romane State*, Dan. 7. 7.) of the *Lion*, the *Beare*, and the *Leopard*, Rev. 13. 2.

No civill Magistrate Christian in Christs time.

CHAP. CXV.

Peace. BY these waights wee may try the waight of that commonly received and not questioned *opinion*, *viz.* That the *civill state* and the *spirituall*, the *Church* and *Commonweale*, they are like *Hippocrates twinnes*, they are borne together, grow up together, laugh together, weepe together, sicken and die together.

Five demonstrative arguments proving the unsoundnesse of that Maxime: The Church and Commonwealth are like Hypocrates twins.

Truth. A witty, yet a most dangerous *Fiction* of the *Father* of *lies*, who hardned in *Rebellion* against *God*, perswades *Gods* people to drinke downe such deadly poison, though he knowes the truth of these five particulars, which I shall reminde you of.

First, many flourishing States in the World have beene and are at this day, which heare not of *Iesus Christ*, and therefore have not

Many flourishing States without a true Church.

the *presence* and *concurrence* of a *Church* of *Christ* with them.

Many of Gods people fare ill from a true Church state.

Secondly, there have beene many thousands of *Gods* people, who in their personall estate and life of *grace* were awake to *God*, but in respect of *Church* estate they knew no other then a Church of dead stones, the Parish Church; or though some light be of late come in through some cranny, yet they seeke not after, or least of all are joyned to any true Church of *God*, consisting of living and beleeving stones.

Yet fit for civill services.

So that by these *New English Ministers* principles, not onely is the doore of calling to *Magistracy* shut against *naturall* and unregenerate *men* (though excellently fitted for *civill* offices) but also against the best and ablest servants of *God*, except they be entred into Church estate; so that thousands of *Gods* owne people (excellently qualified) not knowing, or not entring into such a Church estate, shall not be accounted fit for civill services.

Gods people permitted and favoured by Idolaters.

Thirdly, admit that a *civill Magistrate* be neither a member of a true Church of *Christ* (if any bee in his *dominions*) nor in his person feare *God*, yet may he (possibly) give free *permission* without *molestation*, yea and sometimes incouragement and assistance to the service and *Church* of *God*. Thus wee finde *Abraham* permitted to build and set up an *Altar* to his *God* whersoever hee came amongst the idolatrous Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. Thus *Cyrus* proclaims liberty to all the people of God in his Dominions, freely to goe up and build the *Temple* of *God* at *Jerusalem*, and *Artaxerxes* after him confirmed it.

Thus the *Romane Emperours* and *Governours* under him permitted the *Church* of *God* the *Jewes* in the *Lord Christs* time, their *Temple* and *Worship*, although in *Civill* things they were subject to the *Romanes*.

Christs church gathered and governed without the helpe of an arme of flesh.

Fourthly, the Scriptures of *Truth* and the *Records* of Time concurre in this, that the first *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, the *lights*, *patternes* and *presidents* to all succeeding Ages, were gathered and governed without the aid, assistance or countenance of any Civill Authoritie, from which they suffered great persecutions for the name of the *Lord Jesus* professed amongst them.

The *Nations*, *Rulers*, and *Kings* of the Earth tumultuously rage against the *Lord* and his Anointed, *Psal.* 2. 1. 2. Yet *vers.* 6. it hath pleased the *Father* to set the *Lord Jesus* King upon his holy Hill of *Zion*.

Christ

Christ Jesus would not be pleased to make use of the *Civill Magistrate* to assist him in his Spirituall *Kingdome*: nor would he yet be daunted or discouraged in his Servants by all their *threats* and *terreurs*: for *Love* is strong as *death*, and the coales thereof give a most vehement *flame*, and are not quenched by all the waters and *floods* of mightiest opposition, *Cant.*8.

Christs true spouse chaste and faithfull to Christ Jesus in the midst of feares or favours from the World.

Christs *Church* is like a chaste and loving *wife*, in whose *heart* is fixed her *Husbands love*, who hath found the tenderness of his *love* towards her, and hath been made fruitfull by him, and therefore seekes she not the *smiles*, nor feares the *frownes* of all the *Emperours* in the *World* to bring her *Christ* unto her, or keep him from her.

The 10 horns, Revel. 13. & 17.

Lastly, we finde in the tyrannicall usurpations of the *Romish Antichrist*, the 10 hornes (which some of good note conceive to be the 10 Kingdomes, into which the Romane Empire was quartred and divided) are expressly said *Revel.* 17. 13. to have one minde to give their power and strength unto the *Beast*, yea (*ver.*17.) their *Kingdome* unto the *Beast*, untill the Words of *God* shall be fulfilled: whence it followes, that all those *Nations* that are guilded over with the name of *Christ*, have under that *mask* or *vizard* (as some *Executioners* and *Tormentors* in the *Inquisition* use to torment) persecuted the *Lord Jesus Christ*, either with a more open, grosse and bloody, or with a more subtle, secret and gentle violence.

The great mysterie of Persecution unfolded.

Let us cast our eyes about, turne over the *Records*, and examine the experience of past and present *Generations*, and see if all particular *observations* amount not to this summe, viz. that the great *whore* hath committed fornication with the *Kings* of the *Earth*, and made drunke thereof Nations with the cup of the wine of her *fornications*: In which *drunkennes* and *whoredome* (as *whores* use to practice) she hath robbed the *Kings* and *Nations* of their *power* and strength, and (*Iesabel* like) having procured the *Kings names* and *seales*, she drinks drunk, *Revel.*17. with the blood of *Naboth*, who (because he dares not part with his rightfull *inheritance* in the land of *Canaan*, the blessed land of promise and salvation in *Christ*) as a *Traitour* to the *civill State*, and *Blasphemer* against *God*, she (under the colour of a day of *humiliation* in Prayer and *Fasting*) stones to death.

Christian Naboths slaughtered.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXVI.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, how art thou hidden from the eyes of men in these *mysteries?* how should men weep abundantly with *Iohn*, that the Lambe may please to open these blessed *seales* unto them?

Truth. O that Men more prized their makers feare! then should they be more acquainted with their *Makers councells*, for his *Secret* is with them that feare him, *Psal.*25.

2. Difference. I passe on to a second *Difference.*

The mysterie of the anointing the Kings of Israel and Judah. The *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* were all solemnly annointed with oyle, *Psal.* 39. 20. *I have found Davidmy servant, with my holy Oile have I annointed him.* Whence the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* were honoured with that mysticall and glorious Title of the *Anointed*, or *Christ* of the *Lord*, Lam.4.20. the *Breath of our Nostrils*, the *Anointed of Iehovah was taken in their pits*, &c.

Which *anoynting* and *title*, however the *Man* of Sinne, together with the Crowne and *Diademe* of Spirituall *Israel*, the *Church* of *God*, he hath given to some of the *Kings* of the *Earth*, that so he may in lieu thereof dispose of their Civill Crownes the easier: yet shall we finde it an incommunicable priviledge and prerogative of of the *Saints* and people of *God.*

For as the *Lord Jesus* himselfe in the *Antitype* was not annointed with materiall but *spirituall* oyle, *Psal.*45. with the oyle of *Gladnes*, and *Luke* 4.14. from *Isa.*61.1. with the spirit of *God.* The spirit of the *Lord* is upon me, the *Lord* hath annointed me to preach good tidings, &c. So also all his members are annointed with the holy *spirit* of *God*, 2 Cor.1.21. & 1 John 2.

The Name Christian or Anointed. Hence is it that *Christians* rejoyce in that name, as carrying the very expresse title of the *Anointed* of the *Lord*; which most superstitiously and sacrilegiously hath been applied only unto *Kings.*

A Sacrilegious Monopolie of the Name Christian. *Peace.* O deare Truth, how doth the great *Searcher* of all Hearts finde out the thefts of the *Antichristian* World? how are men caried in the darke they know not whither? How is that heavenly charge, Touch not mine Anointed, &c. (*Psal.*105.) common to all *Christians* (or anointed with) *Christ* their Head, by way of *Monopoly* or priviledge appropriated to *Kings* and *Princes?*

Truth. It will not be here unseasonable to call to minde that admirable

mirable *Prophecie*, *Ezek.* 21. 26, 27. Thus ſaith *Jehovah God*, Remove the *Diadem*, take away the *Crowne*, this ſhall not be the ſame, exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high: I will overturne, overturne, overturne, untill he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him. The matter is a *Crown* and *Diadem* to be taken from an *Uſurpers* head, and ſet upon the head of the right *Owner*.

The Crown of Chriſts Kingly power.

Peace. Doubtleſſe this myſtically intends the ſpirituall Crowne of the Lord Jeſus, for theſe many hundreth yeares ſet upon the *heads* of the *Competitours* and *Corrivals* of the *Lord Jeſus*, upon whoſe glorious head in his *Meſſengers* and *Churches*, the *Crown* ſhall be eſtabliſhed; The *anointing*, the *title*, and the *crown* and power muſt returne to the *Lord Jeſus* in his *Saints*, unto whom alone belongs his *power* and *authoritie* in *Eccleſiaſticall* or *Spiritnall* caſes.

CHAP. CXVII.

Truth. I Therefore proceed to a third difference between thoſe *Kings* and *Governours* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*. Looke upon the Adminiſtrations of the *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and well weigh the *Power* and *Authoritie* which thoſe *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah* exerciſed in *Eccleſiaſticall* and *ſpiritnall* cauſes, and upon a due ſearch we ſhall not find the ſame *Scepter* of *Spiritnall power* in the hand of *Civill Authoritie*, which was ſetled in the hands of the *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*.

3. The Kings of Iſrael and Judah inveſted with a Spirituall power.

David appointed the *Orders* of the *Prieſts* & *Singers*, he brought the *Arke* to *Jeruſalem*, he prepared for the building of the *Temple*, the *patterne* whereof he delivered to *Salomon*: yet *David* herein could not be a type of the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the Earth, but of the *King* of Heaven, *Chriſt Jeſus*: for,

Firſt, *David*, as he was a *King*, ſo was he alſo a Prophet, *Acts* 2. 30. and therefore a type (as *Moſes* alſo was, of that great *Prophet* the Son of *God*. And they that plead for *Davids* Kingly power, muſt alſo by the ſame rule plead for his Propheticall, by which he ſwayed the Scepter of *Iſrael* in *Church* affaires.

Secondly, it is expreſly ſaid, 1 *Cron.* 28. 11. 12. 13. *verſes*, that the patterne which *David* gave to *Salomon* (concerning the matter of the *Temple* and *Worſhip* of *God*) he had it by the *Spirit*, which was no other but a figure of the immediate inſpiration of the *ſpirit* of *God*, unto the *Lord Jeſus* the true Spirituall *King* of *Iſrael*, John. 1. 49. *Rab-*

David immediately inſpired by the Spirit of God, in his ordering of Church matters.

49. *Rabbi*, thou art the Son of *God*; *Rabbi*, thou art the *King* of *Israel*.

Salomons deposing Abiathar (1 Kings 2.26.27) discussed.

Againe, What Civill *Magistrate* may now act as *Salomon* (a type of *Christ*) doth act, 1 *King*. 2.26.27.? *Salomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being *Priest* unto *Iehovah*.

Peace. Some object that *Abiathar* was a man of *death*, ver. 26. worthy to die, as having followed *Adonijah*; and therefore *Salomon* executed no more then Civill *justice* upon him.

Salomon his putting Abiathar from the Priesthood, examined.

Truth. *Salomon* remits the *Civill* punishment, and inflicts upon him a *spirituall*. but by what *right*, but as he was *King* of the *Church*, a figure of *Christ*?

Abiathar his Life is spared with respect to his former good service in following after *David*; but yet he is turned out from the Priesthood.

A case put upon occasion of Abiathars case.

But now put the case: suppose that any of the Officers of the *New-England Churches* should prove false to the *State*, and be discovered joyning with a *French Monsieur*, or *Spanish Don*, (thirsting after *conquest* and *dominion*) to further their *invasions* of that Countrey; yet for some former faithfull service to the State, he should not be adjudged to Civill punishment: I aske now, might their *Governours* or their *Generall Court* (their *Parliament*) depose such a man, a *Pastour*, *Teacher*, or *Elder*, from his holy Calling or office in *Gods* House?

Another case.

Or suppose in a *partiall* and *corrupt* State, a *Member* or *Officer* of a *Church* should escape with his life upon the commission of *murther*, ought not a *Church* of *Christ* upon *repentance* to receive him? I suppose it will not be said that he ought to *execute* himselfe; or that the *Church* may use a *Civill sword* against him. In these cases may such persons (spar'd in *civill* punishments for some reason of, or by partialitie of State) be punished spiritually by the *Civill Magistrate*, as *Abiathar* was? Let the very Enemies of *Zion* be Judges.

Secondly, If *Salomon* in thrusting out of *Abiathar* was a *pattern* and *president* unto all *Civill Magistrates*, why not also in putting *Zadok* in his roome, *ver*. 35. But against this the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Independents* will all cry out against such a practice in their severall respective *claimes* and *challenges* for their *Ministries*.

We find the *Libertie* of the *subjects* of *Christ* in the choice of an *Apostle*,

Apostle, *Act.* 1. of a *Deacon*, *Act.* 6. of *Elders*, *Act.* 14. and guided by the *assistance* either of the *Apostles* or *Evangelists*, 1 *Tim.* 1. *Tit.* 1. without the least influence of any *civill Magistrate*, which shewes the *beauty* of their *liberty*.

The liberties of Christs Churches in the choice of their officers.

The *Parliaments* of *England* have by right free choice of their *Speaker*, yet some *Princes* have thus farre beene gratified as to nominate, yea and implicitely to commend a *Speaker* to them. *Wise men* have seene the evill *consequences* of those *influences* (though but in *civill* things) how much farre greater and stronger are those snares, when the golden *Keyes* of the Sonne of *God* are delivered into the hands of *civill Authority*?

A civill influence dangerous to the Saints liberties.

Peace. You know the noise raised concerning those famous *acts* of *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, *Iehosaphat*, *Iosiah*. What thinke you of the Fast proclaimed by *Iehosaphat*? 2 *Chron.* 20. 3.

Truth. I finde it to be the duty of *Kings* and all in *authority*, to incourage *Christs Messengers* of *Truth* proclaiming *Repentance*, &c.

But under the *Gospel* to enforce all *naturall* and *unregenerate* people to *acts* of *worship*, what president hath *Christ Iesus* given us?

Iehosaphats fast examined.

First, tis true *Iehosaphat* proclaimed a *Fast*, &c. but was he not in matters *spirituall* a *type* of *Christ*, the true *King* of *Israel*?

Secondly, *Iehosaphat* calls the members of the true *Church* to *Church* service and *worship* of *God*.

If civill powers may injoyne the time of the Churches worship, the may also forbid her times.

But consider, if *civill Powers* now may judge of and determine the actions of *worship* proper to the Saints: If they may appoint the time of the *Churches worship*, Fasting and Prayer, &c. why may they not as wel forbid those times which a Church of *Christ* shall make choice of, seeing it is a branch of the same *Root* to forbid what liketh not, as well as to injoyne what pleaseth?

And if in those most solemne *duties* and *exercises*, why not also in other ordinary *meetings* and *worships*? And if so, where is the power of the *Lord Iesus* bequeathed to his *Ministers* and *Churches*, of which the *power* of those *Kings* was but a shadow?

CHAP. CXVIII.

Peace. THe liberty of the *Subject* sounds most sweet, *London* and *Oxford* both professe to fight for it: How much infinitly more sweet is that true soule *liberty* according to *Christ Iesus*?

I know you would not take from *Cæsar* ought, although it were

God will not wrong Cæsar, and Cæsar should not wrong God.

to give to *God*: And what is *Gods* and his *peoples* I wish that *Cæsar* may not take. Yet for the satisfaction of some, be pleased to glance upon *Iosiah* his famous *Acts* in the Church of *God* concerning the *worship* of *God*, the *Priests*, *Levites*, and their *Services*, compelling the people to keepe the *Passeover*, making himselfe a *covenant* before the Lord, and compelling all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to it.

Truth. To these famous practices of *Iosiah* I shall parallell the practices of Englands Kings: and first *de jure*, a word or two of their right: then *de facto*, discusse what hath been done.

The famous acts of Josiah examined.

First, *de jure*: *Iosiah* was a precious branch of that Royall Root King *David*, who was immediately designed by God: and when the golden linkes of the Royall chaine broke in the usurpations of the Romane Conquerour, it pleased the most wise God to send a Sonne of *David*, a Sonne of God, to beginne againe that Royall Line, to sit upon the Throne of his Father *David*, *Luc.* 1.32. *Acts* 2.30.

Magistracy in generall from God the particular formes from the people.

It is not so with the Gentile Princes, Rulers and Magistrates, (whether *Monarchicall*, *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*) who (though *government* in generall be from *God*, yet) receive their *callings*, *power* and *authority*, (both *Kings* and *Parliaments*) mediately from the people.

Secondly, *Iosiah* and those *Kings* were *Kings* and *Governours* over the then true and onely Church of *God Nationall*, brought into the *Covenant* of *God* in *Abraham*, and so downward: and they might well be forced to stand to that *Covenant* into which with such immediate signes and miracles they had beene brought.

Israel confirmed in a Nationall Covenant by revelations, signes, and miracles, but so not England.

But what Commission from *Christ Iesus* had *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the 6. or any (*Iosiah* like) to force the many hundred thousands of *English* men and women, without such immediate *signes* and *miracles* that Israel had to enter into an holy and spirituall *Covenant* with the invisible *God*, the *Father* of *Spirits*, or upon paine of death (as in *Iosiahs* time) to *stand* to that which they never made, nor before *Evangelicall Repentance* are possibly capable of.

Henry 8. the first head and governour of the Church of England.

Now secondly *de facto*, let it be well remembred concerning the Kings of *England* professing *Reformation*. The *foundation* of all was laid in *Henry* the 8. The *Pope* chalengeth to be the *Vicar* of *Christ Iesus* here upon earth, to have power of reforming the Church, redressing abuses, &c. *Henry* 8. falls out with the *Pope*, and chalen-

geth

geth that very power to himself of which he had despoiled the *Pope*, as appeares by that *Act* of *Parliament* establishing *Henry* 8 the supreme *Head* and *Governour* in all cases Ecclesiasticall, &c. It pleased the most *High God* to plague the *Pope* by *Henry* the 8. his means: but neither *Pope* nor *King* can ever prove such power from *Christ* derived to either of them.

Secondly, (as before intimated) let us view the Workes and *Acts* of *Englands* imitation of *Iosiahs* practice. *Henry* the 7. leaves *England* under the slavish bondage of the *Popes* yoake. *Henry* the 8. reformes all *England* to a new fashion, halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*. King *Edward* the 6. turnes about the Wheele of the *State*, and workes the whole Land to absolute *Protestanisme*. Queene *Mary* succeeding to the Helme, steeres a direct contrary course, breakes in peeces all that *Edward* wrought, and brings forth an old *edition* of *Englands Reformation* all *Popish*. *Mary* not living out halfe her dayes (as the Prophet speakes of bloudy persons) *Elizabeth* (like *Ioseph*) advanced from the Prison to the *Palace*, and from the *irons* to the *Crowne*, she pluckes up all her sister *Maries* plants, and founds a *Trumpet* all *Protestant*.

The wonderfull formings and reformings of Religion by Englands Kings.

Kings and States often plant, and often pluck up Religions.

What sober man stands not amazed at these *Revolutions?* and yet like Mother like Daughter: and how zealous are we their off-spring for another *impression* and better *edition* of a *Nationall Canaan* (in imitation of *Iudah* and *Iosiah*) which if attained, who knowes how soone succeeding Kings or Parliaments will quite pull downe and abrogate?

Thirdly, in all these *formings* and *reformings*, a *Nationall Church* of *naturall* unregenerate men was (like wax) the subject matter of all these formes and *changes*, whether *Popish* or *Protestant*: concerning which Nationall State the time is yet to come when ever the Lord Jesus hath given a word of *institution* and appointment.

A Nationall Church ever subject to turne and returne, &c.

CHAP. CXIX.

Peace. YOu bring to minde (deare *Truth*) a plea of some wiser *Papists* for the *Popes supremacy*, *viz.* that it was no such exorbitant or unheard of *power* and *jurisdiction* which the *Pope* chalenged, but the very same which a *Woman*, Queene *Elizabeth* her selfe chalenged, stiling her *Papissa*, or *she Pope*: withall pleading that in point of *Reason* it was far more suitable that the Lord Jesus would

A woman *Papissa* or head of the Church.

delegate his power rather to a *Clergie man* then a *Lay man*, as *Henry* the 8. or a woman, as his daughter *Elizabeth*.

The Papists neerer to the Truth concerning the government of the Church then most Protestants.

Truth. I beleeve that neither one nor t'other hit the white, yet I beleeve the *Papists* arrowes fall the neareſt to it in this particular, *viz.* That the *government* of the *Church* of *Chriſt* ſhould rather belong to ſuch as profeſſe a *Miniſtry* or *Office* Spirituall, then to ſuch as are meerly *Temporall* and *Civill*.

So that in concluſion, the whole *controverſie* concerning the *government* of *Chriſts Kingdome* or *Church*, will be found to lye between the true and falſe *Miniſtry*, both chalenging the true *commiſſion*, *power* and *keyes* from *Chriſt*.

The Kingly power of the Lord Jeſus troubles all the Kings and Rulers of the World.

Peace. This all glorious *diadem* of the *Kingly* power of the *Lord Jeſus* hath beene the eye-ſore of the *World*, and that which the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *World* have alwayes lift up their hands unto.

The firſt report of a new *King* of the *Jewes* puts *Herod* and all *Jeruſalem* into *frights*; and the power of this moſt glorious *King* of *Kings* over the *Soules* and *Conſciences* of men, or over their *lives* and *worſhips*, is ſtill the *white* that all the *Princes* of this *World* ſhoot at, and are enraged at the tidings of the *true Heire* the *Lord Jeſus* in his ſervants.

A twofold exaltation of Chriſt.

Truth. You well minde (deare *Peace*) a twofold exaltation of the *Lord Jeſus*, one in the *Soules* and *Spirits* of men, and ſo he is exalted by all that truly love him, though yet remaining in *Babels captivity*, and before they hearken to the voyce of the *Lord*, Come forth of *Babel* my people.

A ſecond *exaltation* of *Chriſt Jeſus* upon the *Throne* of *David* his *Father* in his *Church* and *Congregation*, which is his Spirituall *Kingdome* here below.

The world ſtormeth at both.

I confeſſe there is a tumultuous *rage* at his *entrance* into his *Throne* in the *Soule* and *Conſciences* of any of his choſen; but againſt his ſecond *exaltation* in his true *Kingly power* and *government*, either *Monarchicall* in himſelf, or *Miniſteriall* in the hands of his *Miniſters* and *Churches*, are muſtred up and ſhall be in the *battels* of *Chriſt* yet to be *fought*, all the *powers* of the *gates* of *Earth* and *Hell*.

A fourth difference. Kings of Iſrael types.

But I ſhall mention one difference more between the *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Gentiles*.

Thoſe *Kings* as *Kings* of *Iſrael* were all inveſted with a *typicall* and figurative reſpect, with which now no Civill power in the World can be inveſted.

They

They wore a double *Crowne*, First, *Civill*: Secondly, *Spiritual*, in which respect they typed out the *Spiritual King* of *Israel*, *Christ Jesus*. They wore a double Crown

When I say they were *types*, I make them not in all respect so to be, but as *Kings* and *Governours* over the Church and Kingdome of *God*, therein types.

Hence all those *Saviours* and *Deliverers*, which it pleased *God* to stirre up extraordinarily to his people, *Gideon*, *Baruc*, *Sampson*, &c. in that respect of their being *Saviours*, *Judges*, and *Deliverers* of *Gods* people, so were they types of *Iesus Christ*, either *Monarchically* ruling by himself immediately, or *Ministerially* by such whom he pleaseth to send to *vindicate* the *liberties* and *inheritances* of his people. The Saviours of the Jewes, figures of the Saviour of the World.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. IT must needs be confest that since the *Kings* of *Israel* were ceremonially anointed with Oile: and

Secondly, in that they sat upon the Throne of *David* (which is expressely applied to *Christ Iesus*, *Luc.* 1.32. *Acts* 2.30. *Iohn* 1.49.) their Crownes were figurative and ceremoniall: but some here question whether or no they were not types of *civill Powers* and *Rulers* now, when *Kings* and *Queens* shall be nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, &c.

Truth. For answer unto such, let them first remember that the dispute lyes not concerning the *Monarchicall* power of the *Lord Iesus*, the power of making *Lawes*, and making *Ordinances* to his Saints and Subjects: But concerning a deputed and Ministeriall power, and this distinction the very *Pope* himself acknowledgeth. The Monarchicall and Ministeriall power of Christ.

There are three great Competitours for this deputed or Ministeriall power of the *Lord Iesus*. 3 Great Competitours for the Ministeriall power of Christ.

First, the *Arch-vicar* or *Sathan*, the pretended *Vicar* of *Christ* on *Earth*, who sits as *God* over the *Temple* of *God*, exalting himselfe not only above all that is called *God*, but over the *soules* and *consciences* of all his *vassalls*, yea over the *Spirit* of *Christ*, over the holy *Scriptures*, yea and *God* himselfe, *Dan.* 8. & 11 chap. & *Rev.* 15. together with 2 *Thes.* 2. The Popes great pretenders for the Ministeriall power of Christ.

This pretender although he professeth to claime but the Ministeriall power of Christ, to declare his Ordinances, to preach, baptise, or-

They also upon the point challenge the Monarchicall also

ordaine Ministers, and yet doth he upon the point challenge the Monarchicall or absolute power also, being full of selfe exalting and blasphemeing, *Dan.*7.25.& 11.36. *Rev.* 13.6. speaking blasphemies against the God of Heaven, thinking to change times and *Lawes*: but he is the sonne of perdition arising out of the bottomlesse pit, and comes to destruction, *Revel.* 17. for so hath the Lord Jesus decreed to consume him by the breath of his mouth, 2 *Thes.* 2.

The second great pretender the Civill Magistrate.

The second great Competitour to this Crowne of the Lord Jesus is the Civill Magistrate, whether Emperours, Kings, or other inferiour Officers of State who are made to beleeve by the false Prophets of the World that they are the Antitypes of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and weare the Crowne of Christ.

3 Great factions chalenging an Arme of Flesh.

Under the wing of the Civill Magistrate doe three great factions shelter themselves, and mutually oppose each other, striving as for life, who shall sit downe under the shadow of that Arme of Flesh.

1. The Prelacie.

First, the *Prelacie*, who (though some extravagants of late have inclined to wave the *King*, and to creepe under the wings of the *Pope*, yet) so far depends upon the *King*, that it is justly said they are the *Kings Bishops*.

2. The Presbyterie.

Secondly, the *Presbyterie*, who (though in truth they ascribe not so much to the *civill Magistrate* as some too grossely do, yet they) give so much to the *civill Magistrate* as to make him absolutely the Head of the Church: For, if they make him the Reformer of the Church, the Suppressour of Schismaticks and Hereticks, the Protectour and defendour of the Church, &c. what is this in true plain English but to make him the Judge of the true and false Church, Judge of what is *truth*, and what *errour*; who is Schismaticall, who Hereticall, unlesse they make him only an *Executioner*, as the *Pope* doth in his punishing of Hereticks?

The Pope and Presbyterie make use of the Civill Magistrate but as of an Executioner.

I doubt not but the Aristocraticall government of Presbyterians may well subsist in a Monarchie (not only regulated but also tyrannicall) yet doth it more naturally delight in the element of an Aristocraticall government of State, and so may properly be said to be (as the Prelates, the Kings so these) the States Bishops.

3. Independents.

The third, though not so great, yet growing faction is that (so called) Independent: I prejudice not the personall worth of any of the three sorts: This latter (as I beleeve this Discourse hath manifested)

nifested) jumpes with the *Prelates*, and (though not more fully, yet) more explicitely then the Presbyterians cast down the *Crowne* of the *Lord Jesus* at the feet of the *Civill Magistrate*: And although they pretend to receive their *Ministrie* from the choice of 2 or 3 private *persons* in *Church-covenant*, yet would they faine perswade the Mother *Old England* to imitate her Daughter *New England's* practice, viz. to keep out the *Presbyterians*, and only to embrace themselves, both as the *States* and the *Peoples* Bishops.

The Independents: who come neerest to the Bishops

The third *competition* for this *Crown* and *power* of the *Lord Jesus* is of those that *seperate* both from one and t'other, yet divided also amongst themselves into many severall *professions*.

The third competition, of those that seperate.

Of these, they that goe furthest, professe they must yet come neerer to the wayes of the Son of *God*: And doubtlesse, so farre as they have gone, they bid the *most*, and make the *faireſt* plea for the *purity* and *power* of *Christ Jesus*, let the rest of the Inhabitants of the World be Judges.

Let all the former well be viewed in their externall State, pomp, riches, conformitie to the World, &c. And on the other side, let the latter be considered, in their more through departure from *sinne* and *sinfull Worship*, their condescending (generally) to the lowest and meanest *contentments* of this *life*, their exposing of themselves for *Christ* to greater sufferings, and their desiring no Civill sword nor Arme of Flesh, but the two-edged sword of Gods Spirit to try out the matter by: and then let the Inhabitants of the World judge, which come neerest to the doctrine, holines, povertie, patience and practice of the Lord Jesus Christ; and whether or no these later deserve not so much of Humanitie, and the Subjects Libertie, as (not offending the Civill State) in the freedome of their Soules, to enjoy the common aire to breath in.

Their neerer conformitie to Christ.

The Churches of the Seperation ought in Humanitie and Subjects Libertie not to be oppressed, but (at least) permitted.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, you have shewne me a little draught of Zions sorrowes, her children tearing out their mothers bowels: O when will Hee that stablisheth, comforteth, and builds up Zion, looke downe from Heaven, and have mercy on her? &c.

Truth. The Vision yet doth tarry (saith *Habacuk*) but will most surely

surely come: and therefore the patient and believing must wait for it.

But to your last Proposition, whether the Kings of Israel and Judah were not types of Civill Magistrates? now I suppose by what hath been already spoken, these things will be evident.

My Reasons proving that the Kings of Israel and Judah cannot have any other but a Spirituall Antitype.

First, that those former *types* of the *Land*, of the *People*, of their *Worships*, were *types* and *figures* of a *spirituall Land*, *spirituall People*, and *spirituall Worship* under *Christ*. Therefore consequently, their *Saviours Redeemers*, *Deliverers*, *Judges*, *Kings*, must also have their *spirituall Antitypes*, and so consequently not *civill* but *spirituall Governours* and *Rulers*; lest the very *essentiall nature* of *Types*, *Figures* and Shadowes be overthrowne.

Civill Types and figures must needs be answered by Spirituall Antitypes.

Secondly, although the Magistrate by a Civill sword might well compell that Nationall Church to the externall exercise of their Naturall Worship: yet it is not possible (according to the rule of the New Testament) to compell whole Nations to true Repentance and Regeneration, without which (so farre as may be discerned true) the Worship and holy Name of God is prophaned and blasphemed.

Civill compulsion was proper in the Nationall Church of the Jewes, but most improper in the Christian, which is not Nationall.

An Arme of Flesh, and Sword of Steele cannot reach to cut the darknesse of the Mind, the hardnesse and unbeleefe of the Heart, and kindely operate upon the Soules affections to forsake a long continued Fathers worship, and to imbrace a new, though the best and truest. This worke performes alone that sword out of the mouth of Christ, with two edges, *Rev.* 1. & 3.

Thirdly, we have not one tittle in the New Testament of *Christ Jesus* concerning such a *parallel*, neither from *Himselfe*, nor from his *Ministers*, with whom he conversed fourty dayes after his *Resurrection*, instructing them in the matters of his *Kingdome*, *Acts* 1.

Neither Christ Jesus nor his Messengers have made the Civill Magistrate Israels Antitype, but the contrary.

Neither find we any such *commission* or *direction* given to the *Civill Magistrate* to this purpose, nor to the *Saints* for their *submission* in matters spirituall, but the contrary, *Acts* 4. & 5. 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. *Coloss.* 2. 18.

Civill Magistracie essentially civill, and the same in all parts of the World.

Fourthly, we have formerly viewed the very nature and essence of a *Civill Magistrate*, and find it the same in all parts of the *World*, where ever people live upon the face of the *Earth*, agreeing together in *Townes*, *Cities*, *Provinces*, *Kingdomes*: I say the same essentially Civill, both from, 1. the *rise* and *fountaine* whence it springs,

ſprings, to wit, the *peoples* choice and free conſent. 2. The Object of it, viz. the *common-weale* or *ſafety* of ſuch a *people* in their *bodies* and *goods*, as the *Authours* of this *Model* have themſelves confeſſed.

This *civill* Nature of the *Magiſtrate* we have proved to receive no *addition* of *power* from the *Magiſtrates* being a *Chriſtian*, no more then it receives *diminution* from his not being a *Chriſtian*: even as the *Common-weale* is a true *Common-weale*, although it have not heard of *Chriſtianitie*; and *Chriſtianitie* profeſſed in it (as in *Pergamus*, *Epheſus*, &c.) makes it ne're no more a Commonweale, and *Chriſtianitie* taken away, and the *candleſtick* removed, makes it ne're the leſſe a Commonweale.

Chriſtianitie adds not to the nature of a Civill Commonweale, nor doth want of Chriſtianitie diminiſh it.

Fifthly, the *Spirit* of *God* expreſly relates the worke of the *civill Magiſtrate* under the *Goſpel*, Rom. 13. expreſly mentioning (as the *Magiſtrates* object) the duties of the *ſecond Table*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *ſubject*.

Rom. 13. evidently proves the Civill work and wages of the Civill Magiſtrate

2. The *reward* or *wages* which people owe for ſuch a worke, to wit, (not the *contribution* of the *Church* for any *ſpirituall* work, but) *tribute*, *toll*, *cuſtome* which are *wages* payable by all ſorts of men, *Natives* and *Forreigners*, who enjoy the ſame benefit of *publick peace* and *commerce* in the *Nation*.

Sixthly, Since the *civill Magiſtrate*, whether *Kings* or *Parliaments*, *States*, and *Governours*, can receive no more in *juſtice* then what the People give, and are therefore but the *eyes* and *hands* and *inſtruments* of the people (ſimply conſidered, without reſpect to this or that *Religion*) it muſt inevitably follow (as formerly I have touched) that if *Magiſtrates* have received their power from the *people*, then the greateſt number of the people of every Land have received from *Chriſt Jeſus* a power to *eſtabliſh*, *correct*, *reforme* his *Saints* and *ſervants*, his *wife* and *ſpouſe*, the *Church*: And (he that by the expreſſe *word* of the *Lord* (*Pſal.* 149.) binds *Kings* in *chaines*, and *Nobles* in *links* of *iron*, muſt her ſelfe be ſubject to the changeable pleaſures of the people of the *World* (which lies in *wickedneſſe*, 1 *Iohn* 5.) even in matters of Heavenly and *ſpirituall* Nature.

Moſt ſtrange, yet moſt true conſequences from the Civill Magiſtrates now being the Antitype of the Kings of Iſrael and Judah.

Hence therefore in all controverſies concerning the Church, Miniſtrie and worſhip, the laſt Appeale muſt come to the Bar of the People or Commonweal, where all may perſonally meet, as in ſome Commonweales of ſmall number, or in greater by their Repreſentatives.

If no Religion but that which the Common-weal approves the no Christ, no God, but at the pleasure of th a world. 2 Ep. Jo 9.

Hence then no person esteemed a beleever, and added to the Church.

No Officer chosen and ordained.

No person cast forth and excommunicated, but as the Common-weale and people please, and in conclusion, no Church of Christ in this Land or World, and consequently no visibly Christ the Head of it. Yea yet higher, consequently no God in the World worshipped according to the institutions of Christ Jesus, except the severall peoples of the Nations of the World shall give allowance.

Peace. Deare Truth, Oh whither have our Forefathers and teachers led us? higher then to God himselfe (by these doctrines driven out of the World) you cannot rise: and yet so high must the inevitable and undeniable consequences of these their doctrines reach, if men walke by their owne common Principles.

The true anti-type of the Kings of Isra el and Judah.

Truth. I may therefore here seasonably adde a seventh, which is a necessary consequence of all the former *Arguments*, and an *Argument* it selfe: *viz.* we finde expresly a spirituall power of *Christ Jesus* in the hands of his *Saints*, *Ministers* and *Churches*, to bee the true *Antitype* of those former figures in all the *Prophecies* concerning *Christ* his *spirituall power*, Isa. 9. Dan. 7. Mich. 4. *&c.* compared with Luc. 1. 32. Act. 2. 30. 1 Cor. 5. Math. 18. Marc. 13, 34. &c.

CHAP. CXXI.

Peace. GLorious and conquering Truth, mee thinkes I see most evidently thy glorious conquests: how mighty are thy spirituall weapons (2 *Cor.* 10.) to breake downe those mighty and strong Holds and Castles, which men have fortified themselves withall against thee? O that even the thoughts of men may submit and bow downe to the captivity of Jesus Christ!

A fourth difference of Lawes and Statutes from all others.

Truth. Your kinde incouragement makes mee proceed more cheerfully to a fourth difference from the Lawes and Statutes of this Land, different from all the Lawes and Statutes of the World, and parallel'd onely by the Lawes and Ordinances of spirituall Israel.

Moses a type of Christ.

First then consider we the *Law-maker*, or rather the *Law-publisher* or *Prophet*, as *Moses* calls himselfe, *Deut.* 18. and *Act.* 3. he is expresly

expreſly called that Prophet who figured out *Chriſt Jeſus* who was to come, like unto *Moſes*, greater then *Moſes*, as the ſon is greater then the ſervant.

Such *Law-givers* or *Law-publiſhers* never had any *State* or *People* as *Moſes* the *type*, or *Chriſt Jeſus*, miraculouſly ſtirred up and ſent as the mouth of *God* betweene *God* and his people.

Secondly, concerning the *Lawes* themſelves: It is true, the ſecond *Table* containes the *Law* of *Nature*, the *Law Morall* and *Civill*, yet ſuch a *Law* was alſo given to this people as never to any people in the *World*: ſuch was the *Law* of *worſhip*, *Pſal.* 147. peculiarly given to *Jacob*, and *God* did not deale ſo with other *Nations*: which *Lawes* for the *matter* of the *worſhip* in all thoſe wonderfull ſignificant *Sacrifices*, and for the manner by ſuch a *Prieſthood*, ſuch a *place* of *Tabernacle*, and afterward of *Temple*, ſuch *times* and *ſolemnities* of *Feſtivals*, were never to be parallel'd by any other *Nation*, but onely by the true *Chriſtian Iſrael* eſtabliſhed by *Jeſus Chriſt* amongſt *Jewes* and *Gentiles* throughout the *World*. The Lawes of Iſrael unparallel'd.

Thirdly, the *Law* of the tenne Words (*Deut.* 10.) the *Epitome* of all the reſt, it pleaſed the moſt high *God* to frame and pen twice with his owne moſt holy and dreadfull *finger* upon *Mount Sinai*, which he never did to any other *Nation* before or ſince, but onely to that ſpirituall *Iſrael*, the *people* and *Church* of *God*, in whoſe hearts of *fleſh* he writes his *Lawes*, according to *Jer* 31. *Heb* 8. and 10. Gods owne finger penn'd Lawes for Iſrael.

Peace. Such *promulgation* of ſuch *Lawes*, by ſuch a *Prophet*, muſt needs be *matchleſſe* and *unparallel'd*.

Truth. In the fift place conſider we the *puniſhments* and *rewards* annexed to the *breach* or *obſervation* of theſe *Lawes*. Fift difference

Firſt, thoſe which were of a *temporall* and preſent conſideration of this *life*: *Bleſſings* and *Curſes* of all ſorts opened at large, *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. which cannot poſſibly be made good in any *State*, *Countrey* or *Kingdome*, but in a *ſpirituall* ſenſe in the *Church* and *Kingdome* of *Chriſt*. Temporall proſperity moſt proper to the temporall Nationall State of the Jewes.

The reaſon is this, ſuch a temporall *proſperity* of outward *peace* and *plenty* of all things, of *increaſe* of *children*, of *cattell*, of *honour*, of *health*, of *ſucceſſe*, of *victory*, ſuits not temporally with the afflicted and perſecuted eſtate of *Gods people* now: And therefore *ſpirituall* and ſoule *bleſſednеſſe* muſt be the Antitype, *viz.* In the midſt of *revilings*, and all manner of evill ſpeeches for *Chriſts* ſake, ſoule *bleſſednеſſe*. In the midſt of *afflictions* and *perſecutions*, *ſoule bleſſednеſſe*, The ſpirituall proſperity of Gods people now, the antitype.

Math.5. and Luc.6. And yet herein the *Iſrael* of God ſhould enjoy their ſpirituall peace, *Gal.6.16.*

What Iſraels excommunication was.

Out of that bleſſed *temporall eſtate* to be caſt or caried *captive*, was their *excommunication* or caſting out of *Gods ſight*, 2 *King.* 17. 23. Therefore was the *blaſphemer*, the *falſe Prophet*, the *idolater*, to bee caſt out or cut off from this *holy Land*: which *puniſhment* cannot be parallel'd by the puniſhment of any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *world*, but onely by the *excommunicating* or outcaſting of *perſon* or *Church* from the fellowſhip of the *Saints* and *Churches* of *Chriſt Jeſus* in the *Goſpel*.

The corporall ſtoning in the Law, typed out ſpirituall ſtoning in the Goſpell.

And therefore (as before I have noted) the putting away of the falſe *prophet*, by ſtoning him to *death*, Deut. 13. is fitly anſwered (and that in the very ſame words) in the *Antitype*, when by the generall *conſent* or *ſtoning* of the whole *Aſſembly*, any *wicked perſon* is *put away* from amongſt them, that is, ſpiritually *cut off* out of the *Land* of the ſpiritually living, the people or *Church* of *God*, 1 *Cor.*5. *Galat.*5.

The rewards or puniſhments of the Lawes of Iſrael not to be parallel'd.

Laſtly, the great and high *reward* or *puniſhment* of the keeping or breach of theſe Lawes to Iſrael, was ſuch as cannot ſuit with any State or Kingdome in the *World* beſide: the *Reward* of the *Obſervation* was *Life*, *Eternall Life*. The *Breach* of any one of theſe *Lawes* was *death*, *Eternall death* or *damnation* from the preſence of the Lord. So *Rom.*10. *Iam.*2. Such a *Covenant God* made not before nor ſince with any State or People in the world. For, *Chriſt* is the *end* of the *Law* for *righteouſneſſe* to every one that beleeveth, *Rom.*10.4. And he that beleeveth in that Son of *God*, hath eternall life; hee that beleeveth not hath not life, but is condemned already, John 3. and 1 John 5.

CHAP. CXXII.

The wars of Iſrael typicall.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, you have moſt lively ſet forth the *unparallel'd* ſtate of that *typicall Land* and people of the Iewes in their *peace* and quiet government: Let mee now requeſt you in the laſt place to glance at the *difference* of the *wars* of this people from the *wars* of other *Nations*, and of their having no *Antitype* but the *Churches* of *Chriſt Ieſus*.

Firſt, all *Nations* round about *Iſrael* more or leſſe, ſometime or other, had indignation againſt this people, *Ægyptians*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*,

Moabites, *Ammonites*, *Midians*, *Philistians*, *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, &c. as appeares in the History of *Moses*, *Samuel*, *Iudges* and *Kings*, and in all the *Prophets*: You have an expresse Catalogue of them, *Psal.* 83. sometimes many hundred thousand Enemies in pitcht field against them: of *Ethiopians* ten hundred thousand at once in the dayes of *Asa*, 2 Chron. 14. and at other times as the sand upon the Sea shoare. Israels Enemies round about.

Such Enemies the *Lord Iesus* foretold his *Israel*, The *World* shall hate you, *Iohn* 3 6. You shall be hated of all men for my Names sake, *Matth.* 24. All that will live godly in *Christ Iesus* must be persecuted or hunted, 1 *Tim.* 4. And not only by *flesh* and *blood*, but also by *Principalities*, Powers, Spirituall wickednesse in high places (*Ephes.* 6.) by the whole *Pagan World* under the *Roman Emperours*, and the whole *Antichristian World* under the *Roman Popes*, Rev 12. & 13. Chap. by the *Kings* of the *Earth*, Rev. 17. And *Gog* and *Magog*, like the sand upon the Sea shoare (Rev. 20.) The Enemies of mysticall Israel.

Peace. Such *Enemies*, such *Armies*, no History, no experience proves ever to have come against one poore *Nation* as against *Israel* in the *type*; and never was nor shall be knowne to come against any State or Country now, but the *Israel* of God the *Spirituall Iewes*, *Christs* true followers in all parts and quarters of the World.

Beside all these without, *Israel* is betraied *within* her owne bowells, bloody *Sauls*, *Absaloms*, *Shebaes*, *Adonijahs*, *Ieroboams*, *Athaliahs* raising *insurrections*, *conspiracies*, *tumults*, in the *Antitype*, and *Parallell* the Spirituall state of the Christian Church. Enemies against Israel in her owne bowells.

Secondly, consider we the famous and wonderfull *battells*, *victories*, *captivities*, *deliverances*, which it pleased the *God* of *Israel* to dispence to that people and *Nation*, and let us search if they can be paralleld by any State or people, but mystically and Spiritually the true *Christian Israel* of *God*, Gal. 6.

How famous was the bondage and slavery of that people and Nation 430 yeares in the Land of *Egypt*, and as famous, glorious and miraculous was their *returne* through the *Red Sea* (a figure of *Baptisme*, 1 Corinth. 10. and *Egypt* a figure of an *Egypt* now, *Rev.* 11. 8?) The famous typically captivities of the Iews.

How famous was the 70 yeares *captivity* of the *Iewes* in *Babel* transported from that Land of *Canaan*, and at the full period returned againe to *Ierusalem*, a type of the *captivity* of *Gods* people now

now Spiritually captivated in mysticall *Babel*, Rev. 18.4?

Their wonderfull victories.

Time would faile me to speake of *Iosua's* conquest of literall *Canaan*, the slaughter of 31 Kings, of the miraculous taking of *Iericho* and other Cities; *Gideon* his miraculous battell against the *Midianites*; *Ionathan* and his Armour bearer against the *Philistims*; *David* by his 5 smooth stones against *Goliah*; *Asa*, *Iehosaphat*, *Hezechia*, their mighty and miraculous *victories* against so many hundred thousand Enemies, and that sometimes without a blow given.

What State, what Kingdome, what warres and combats, victories and deliverances can parallel this people, but the Spirituall and mysticall *Israel* of *God* in every *Nation* and *Country* of the *World*, typed out by that small typicall handfull, in that little spot of ground the land of *Canaan*?

The mysticall battells of Gods Israel now.

The *Israel* of *God* now, men and women, fight under the Great *Lord Generall*, the *Lord Iesus Christ*: Their *Weapons*, *Armour*, and *Artillery*, is like themselves *Spirituall*, set forth from *top* to *toe*, Ephes. 6. So mighty and so potent that they breake downe the strongest *holds* and *Castles*, yea in the very soules of men and carry into *captivity* the very thoughts of men, subjecting them to *Christ Iesus*: They are Spirituall *conquerours*, as in all the 7 Churches of *Asia*, He that overcommeth: He that overcommeth, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

Their *victories* and *conquests* in this are contrary to those of this *World*, for when they are slaine and slaughtered, yet then they conquer: So overcame they the *Divell* in the *Roman Emperours*, Rev. 12. By the *blood* of the *Lambe*: 2. By the *word* of their *Testimony*: 3. The cheerfull spilling of their owne *blood* for *Christ*; for they loved not their lives unto the death: And in all this they are *more* then *Conquerors* through him that loved them, *Rom.* 8.

The mysticall Army of white troopers R. 19.

This glorious *Armie* of *white Troopers*, horses and harnesse (*Christ Iesus* and his true *Israel*) Rev. 19. gloriously conquer and overcome the *Beast*, the false *Prophet* and the *Kings* of the Earth up in Armes against them, *Rev.* 19. and lastly, raigning with *Christ* a thousand yeares they conquer the *Divell* himselfe and the numberlesse *Armies* (like the sand on the Sea shoare) of *Gog* and *Magog*, and yet not a tittle of mention of any *sword*, *helmet*, *breastplate*, *shield* or *horse*, but what is *Spirituall* and of a *heavenly nature*: All which Warres of *Israel* have been, may be, and shall be fulfilled mystically and Spiritually.

I could

I could further insist on other particulars of *Israels* unparalled state, and might display those excellent passages which it pleaseth God to mention, *Nehem* 9.

CHAP. CXXIII.

Peace. YOu have (deare *Truth*) as in a glasse presented the face of *Old* and *New Israel*, and as in water, face answereth to face, so doth the face of typicall *Israel* to the face of the *Antitype*, between whom, and not between *Canaan* and the *Civill Nations* and Countries of the *World* now, there is an admirable consent and harmony: But I have heard some say, was not the *civill state* and *Judicialls* of that people presidentiall?

Whether the Civill state of Israel was presidentiall.

Truth. I have in part, and might further discover, that from the *King* upon his *Throne*, to the very *Beasts*, yea the *excrements* of their *bodies* (as we see in their going to War, *Deut* 23.12.) their *civills*, *moralls*, and *naturalls* were carried on in types: and however I acknowledge that what was simply *morall*, *civill*, and *naturall* in *Israels state*, in their *constitutions*, *Lawes*, *punishments*, may be imitated and followed by the *States*, *Countries*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the World: Yet who can question the *lawfulnesse* of other formes of *Government*, *Lawes* and *punishments* which differ, since *civill constitutions* are mens *Ordinances* (or creation, 2 *Pet.* 2.13.) unto which *Gods* people are commanded even for the *Lords* sake to submit themselves, which if they were unlawfull they ought not to do?

Peace. Having thus far proceeded in examining whether God hath charged the Civill State with the establishing of the Spirituall and Religious, what conceive you of that next assertion, *viz.* "It "is well knowne that the remissenes of Princes in Christendome "in matters of Religion and Worship, divolving the care thereof "only to the Clergie, and so setting their Homes upon the Chur-"ches head, hath been the cause of Antichristian invention, usurpa-"tion and corruption in the Worship and Temple of God.

Truth. It is lamentably come to passe by *Gods* just *permission*, *Sathans* policie, the *peoples* sinne, and the *malice* of the *wicked* against *Christ*, and the *corruption* of *Princes* and *Magistrates*, that so many *inventions usurpations*, and *corruptions* are risen in the *Worship* and *Temple* of *God* throughout that part of the World which is called *Christian*, and may most properly be called the *Popes Christendome*, in

The true Christendome

in oppoſition to *Chriſt Jeſus* his true *Chriſtian Common-weale*, or *Church* the true *Chriſtendome*: But that this hath ariſen from *Princes* remiſſeneſſe in not keeping their watch, to eſtabliſh the *Purity* of *Religion*, *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, and to puniſh (according to Iſraels patterne) all falſe Miniſters, by rooting them and their worſhips out of the *World*, that, I ſay, can never bee evinced; and the many thouſands of glorious *Soules* under the *Altar*, (whoſe blood hath beene ſpilt by this *poſition*) and the many hundred thouſand ſoules, driven out of their bodies by *Civill Warres*, and the many millions of ſoules forced to *hypocriſie* and *ruine* eternall, by inforced *Vniformities* in *Worſhip*, will to all Eternity proclaime the contrary.

Great unfaithfulneſſe in Miniſters to caſt the chiefeſt burden of judging and eſtabliſhing true Chriſtianity upon the Commonweal or world it ſelfe.

Indeed it ſhewes a moſt injurious *idlenes* and *unfaithfulnes* in ſuch as profeſſe to be *Meſſengers* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, to caſt the heavieſt weight of their care upon the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*, yea, upon the very *Common-weales*, *Bodies* of People, (that is, the *World* it ſelfe) who have fundamentally in themſelves the *Root* of *Power*, to ſet up what *Government* and *Governours* they ſhall agree upon.

Secondly, it ſhewes abundance of carnall *diffidence* and diſtruſt of the glorious *power* and gracious *preſence* of the *Lord Jeſus*, who hath given his *promiſe* and Word, to bee with ſuch his *meſſengers* to the end of the *world*, Matth. 28.

That *Dog* that feares to meet a man in the path, runnes on with boldnes at his maſters comming and *preſence* at his backe.

To governe & judge in civill affaires load enough on the Civill Magiſtrate.

Thirdly, what imprudence and *indiſcretion* is it in the moſt common affaires of Life, to conceive that *Emperours*, *Kings* and *Rulers* of the earth muſt not only be qualified with *politicall* and *ſtate abilities* to *make* and *execute* ſuch *Civill Lawes* which may concerne the common *right*, *peace* and *ſafety* (which is worke and buſineſſe, load and burthen enough for the ableſt ſhoulders in the *Commonweal*) but alſo furniſhed with ſuch *ſpirituall* and heavenly *abilities* to governe the *Spirituall* and *Chriſtian Commonweale*, the *flocke* and *Church* of *Chriſt*, to *pull downe*, and *ſet up Religion*, to *judge*, *determine* and *puniſh* in *Spirituall controverſies*, even to *death* or *baniſhment*: And beſide, that not only the ſeverall ſorts of *civill Officers* (which the people ſhall chooſe and ſet up) muſt be ſo authoriſed, but that all reſpective *Commonweales* or *Bodies* of people are charged (much more) by *God* with this *worke* and *buſines*, radically and fundamentally, becauſe all true *civill Magiſtrates*, have not the leaſt *inch* of *civill power*, but what is meaſured out to them from the free conſent of the

Magiſtrates can have no more power then the common conſent of the people ſhall betruſt them with.

whole

Whole: even as a *Committee* of *Parliament*, cannot further act then the power of the *House* shall arme and enable them.

Concerning that Objection which may arise from the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, who were borne members of *Gods Church*, and trained up therein all their dayes, (which thousands of lawfull *Magistrates* in the *world*, possibly borne and bred in false Worships, *Pagan* or *Antichristian*, never heard of) and were therein *types* of the great anointed, the *King of Israel*, I have spoken sufficiently to such as have an eare to heare: and therefore

Thousands of lawfull Magistrates who never heare of the true church of God.

Lastly, so unsutable is the commixing and intangling of the *Civill* with the *Spirituall* charge and *Government*, that (except it was for subsistence, as we see in *Paul* and *Barnabas*, working with their owne hands) the Lord *Jesus*, and his *Apostles*, kept themselves to one: If ever any in this world was able to manage both the Spirituall and Civill, Church and Commonweale, it was the Lord Jesus, (wisedome it selfe:) Yea hee was the true Heire to the Crowne of Israel, being the Sonne of David: yet being sought for by the people to be made a King, Joh. 5. he refused, and would not give a president to any King, Prince, or Ruler, to manage both swords, and to assume the charge of both Tables.

The Spirituall and Civill Sword cannot be managed by one and the same person.

The Lord Jesus refused to manage both.

Now concerning Princes, I desire it may bee remembred, who were most injurious and dangerous to Christianity, whether *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Julian*, &c. *Persecuters*, or *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. who assumed this Power and *Authority*, in and over the *Church* in *Spirituall* things: It is confest by the *Answerer* and others of note, that under these later, the Church, the Christian State, Religion, and Worship, were most corrupted: under *Constantine*, *Christians* fell asleepe on the beds of carnall ease and Liberty: insomuch that some apply to his times, that sleepe of the *Church*, Cant. 5. 2. I sleep though mine heart waketh.

Nero and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as Constantine and others who assumed a power in Spirituall things. Under Constantine Christianity fell into corruption, and Christians fell asleep.

CHAP. CXXIV.

Peace. YEa, but some will say, this was not through their assuming of this power, but the ill managing of it.

Truth. Yet are they commonly brought as the great *Presidents* for all succeeding Princes and Rulers in after Ages: and in this very controvesie, their practices are brought as presidentiall to establish *persecution* for *conscience*.

Who force the consciences of others, yet are not willing to be forced themselves.

Secondly, those *Emperours* and other *Princes* and *Magistrates* acted in *Religion* according to their *consciences* perswasion, (and beyond the light and perswasion of *conscience* can no man living walk in any feare of God.) Hence have they forced their *subjects* to *uniformitie* and *conformitie* unto their own *consciences* (what ever they were) though not willing to have been forced themselves in the matters of *God* and *Conscience*.

Constantine and others wanted not so much affection as information of conscience.

Thirdly, Had not the *light* of their *eye* of *conscience*, and the *consciences* also of their *Teachers* been darkned, they could not have been condemned for want of heavenly *affection*, rare *devotion* wonderfull care and *diligence*, propounding to themselves the best *patternes* of the *Kings* of *Judah*, *David*, *Salomon*, *Asa*, *Jehosaphat*, *Josiah*, *Hezekiah*: But here they lost the *path*, and *themselves*, in perswading *themselves* to be the *parallels* and *antytipes* to those *figurative* and *typicall* Princes: whence they conceived themselves bound to make their *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, *Empires* new holy lands of *Canaan*, and themselves *Governours* and *Judges* in *spirituall* causes, compelling all *consciences* to *Christ*, and persecuting the contrary with fire and sword.

Sad consequences of charging the Civill powers with the care of Spiritualls.

Upon these *rootes*, how was, how is it possible but that such *bitter fruits* should grow of *corruption* of *Christianitie*, *Persecution* (of such *godly*, who happily see more of *Christ* then such *Rulers* themselves) their Dominions and Juristdictions being overwhelmed with inforced *dissimulation* and *hypocrisie*, and (where power of *resistance*) with flames of *civill combustion*, as at this very day, he that *runs* may *read* and tremble at.

Peace. They adde further, that the *Princes* of *Christendome* setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, have been the cause of *Antichristian inventions*, &c.

Civill Rulers giving and lending their Horns or Authority to Bishops, both dangerous to the truth of Christ.

Truth. If they mean that the *Princes* of *Europe* giving their power and *authoritie* to the *seven-headed* and *ten-horned Beast* of *Rome*, have been the cause, &c. I confesse it to be one concurring cause: yet withall it must be remembred, that even before such *Princes* set their *hornes* or *authoritie* upon the *Beasts* head, even when they did (as I may say but *lend* their *hornes* to the *Bishops*, even then rose up many *Antichristian abominations*. And though I confesse there is but small difference (in some respect) betweene the *setting* their *hornes* upon the *Priests* heads (whereby they are inabled immediately to push and gore whoever crosse their *doctrine* and *practice*)

and

and the *lending* of their *hornes*, that is, *pushing* and *goring* such themselves, as are declared by their *Bishops* and *Priests* to be *heretical*, as was and is practised in some *Countries* before and since the *Pope* rose: yet I confidently affirme, that neither the *Lord Jesus* nor his first ordained *Ministers* and *Churches* (gathered by such *Ministers*) did ever weare, or crave the helpe of such *hornes* in Spirituall and *Christian* affaires: The *spirituall power* of the *Lord Jesus* in the hands of his true *Ministers* and *Churches* (according to *Balaams* prophesie *Num.* 23.) is the horne of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot* (*Psal* 92.) which is the strongest *horne* in the *world*, in comparison of which the strongest hornes of the *Bulls* of *Basan* breake as *sticks* and *reeds*. *Historie* tells us how that *Unicorne* or one-horned *Beast* the *Rhinocerot*, tooke up a *Bull* like a *Tennis ball*, in the *Theater* at *Rome* before the *Emperour*, according to that record of the *Poet*:

The Spirituall power of the Lord Jesus compared in Scripture to the incomparable horne of the Rhinocerot

Quantus erat cornu cui pila Taurus erat?

Unto this Spirituall power of the Lord *Jesus*, the *soules* and *thoughts* of the highest *Kings* and *Emperours* must subject; *Matth.* 16. & 18. 1 *Cor.* 5. & 10. chapters.

CHAP. CXXV.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, You know the noyse is made from those *prophecies*, Isa. 46. *Kings* and *Queenes* shall be nursing *Fathers*, &c. and *Revel.* 21. the *Kings* of the Earth shall bring their *Glory* and Honour to new *Jerusalem*, &c.

Truth. I answer with that mournfull *Prophet*, Psal. 74. I see not that man, that Prophet, that can tell us how long. How many excellent *Pen-men* fight each against other with their *pens* (like *swords*) in the application of those prophecies of *David*, *Isa.* *Jer.* *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Zacharie*, *John*, when and how those Prophecies shall be fulfilled!

A time when Gods people are wholly at a losse for Gods worship.

Secondly, When ever those prophecies are fulfilled, yet shall those Kings not be Heads, Governours, and Judges in Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall causes, but be themselves judged and ruled (if within the Church) by the power of the Lord Jesus therein. Hence saith *Isaiah*, those Kings and Queenes shall lick the Dust of thy feet, &c.

Nursing fathers and mothers.

Peace. Some will here aske, What may the Magistrate then lawfully doe with his Civill horne or power in matters of Religion?

Truth. His horne not being the horne of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot*, the power of the *Lord Jesus* in *Spirituall case*, his *sword* not the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit*, the word of *God* (hanging not about the *loines* or *side*, but at the *lips*, and proceeding out of the *mouth* of his *Ministers*) but of an humane and Civill nature and constitution, it must consequently be of a humane and Civill *operation*, for who knowes not that *operation* followes *constitution*? and therefore I shall end this passage with this *consideration*:

The Civill horne or power being of a humane constitution cannot but be of a humane operation.

The Civill power owes 3 things to the true Church of Christ.

The *Civill Magistrate* either respecteth that *Religion* and *Worship* which his *conscience* is perswaded is true, and upon which he ventures his Soule: or else that and those which he is perswaded are *false*.

Concerning the first, if that which the *Magistrate* believeth to be true, be true, I say he owes a threefold dutie unto it:

1. Approbation.

First, *approbation* and *countenance*, a reverent esteeme and honorable *Testimonie*, according to *Isa.* 49. *Revel.*21.) with a tender respect of *Truth*, and the *professours* of it.

2. Submission.

Secondly, Personall *submission* of his owne Soule to the power of the *Lord Jesus* in that *spirituall Government* and *Kingdome*, according to *Mat.*18. 1 *Cor.*5.

3. Protection.

Thirdly, *Protection* of such true *professours* of *Christ*, whether apart, or met together, as also of their *estates* from violence and injurie, according to *Rom.*13.

The Civill Magistrate owes to false worshippers.

Now secondly, if it be a false *Religion* (unto which the *Civil Magistrate* dare not adjoyne, yet) he owes,

1. Permission.

First *permission* (for *approbation* he owes not to what is evill) and this according to *Matthew* 13. 30. for publike peace and quiet sake.

2. Protection.

Secondly he owes *protection* to the persons of his Subjects, (though of a false *worship*) that no injurie be offered either to the persons or goods of any, *Rom.*13.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, in this 11 head concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Worship*, you have examined what is affirmed: that the *Magistrate* may doe in point of *Worship*, there remaines a second; to wit, that which they say the *Magistrate* may not doe in *Worship*.

They

They say, "The *Magistrate* may not bring in set *formes* of *prayer*: "Nor secondly, bring in *significant ceremonies*: Nor thirdly, not go- "*verne* and rule the *acts* of *worship* in the *Church* of *God*, for which "they bring an excellent *similitude* of a *Prince* or *Magistrate* in a "*ship*, where he hath no *governing power* over the *actions* of the *ma-* "*riners*: and secondly, that excellent *prophecie* concerning *Christ* "*Jesus*, that his *government* should be upon his *shoulders*, *Isa.* 9 6,7.

Truth. Unto all this I willingly subscribe: Yet can I not passe by a most injurious and unequall practice toward the *Civill Magistrate*: *Ceremonies*, *Holy dayes*, *Common Prayer*, and what ever else dislikes their *consciences*, that the *Magistrate* must not bring in: Others againe as learned, as godly, as wise, have conceived the *Magistrate* may approve or permit these in the *Church*, and all men are bound in obedience to obey him. How shal the *Magistrates conscience* be herein (between both) torn and distracted, if indeed the power either of *establishing* or *abolishing* in *Church* matters bee committed to him?

The Civill Magistrates conscience torne and distracted between the divers and contrary affirmations even of the most godly Reformers.

Secondly, me thinkes in this case they deale with the *Civill Magistrate* as the Souldiers dealt with the *Lord Jesus*: First they take off his owne clothes, and put upon him a *purple Robe*, plat a *Crowne of 7 hornes* on his head, bow the knee, and salute him by the name of *King of the Jewes*.

The Authors of these positions deal with the Civil Magistrate, as the souldiers dealt with the Lord Jesus.

They tell him that he is the *Keeper* of both *Tables*, he must see the *Church* doe her duty, he must establish the true *Church*, true *Ministry*, true *Ordinances*, he must keepe her in this purity. Againe, hee must abolish *superstition*, and punish false *Churches*, false *Ministers*, even to *banishment*, and *death*.

Thus indeed doe they make the blood run downe the head of the *civill Magistrate*, from the *thorny* vexation of that *power* which sometimes they crowne him with (whence in great *States*, *Kingdoms* or *Monarchies*, necessarily arise *delegations* of that *spirituall power*, *High Commissions*, &c.

The rise of high Commissions. &c.

Anon againe they take off this purple robe, put him into his own clothes, and tell him that he hath no power to command what is against their *conscience*. They cannot conforme to a *set forme* of *prayer*, nor to *Ceremonies*, nor *Holy dayes*, &c. although the *civill Magistrate* (that most pious *Prince Edw* 6. and his famous *Bishops* (afterwards burnt for Christ) were of another *conscience*: which of these two *consciences* shall stand, if either *Magistrate* must put forth his *civill*

Pious Magistrates and Ministers consciences are perswaded for that, which other Magistrates consciences condemne.

power

power in these cases, the strongest *arme* of *flesh* and most conquering bloody *sword* of Steele can alone decide the Question.

To professe the Magistrate must force the Church to her duty, and yet must not judge what that is, what is it but to play in Spirituall things?

I confesse it is most true, that no *Magistrate* (as no other superiour) is to be obeyed in any matter displeasing to *God*: yet, when in matters of *worship* we ascribe the absolute *headship* and *government* to the *Magistrate*, (as to keepe the *Church* pure, and force her to her duty, *Ministers* and *People*) and yet take unto our selves power to *judge* what is right in our owne eyes, and to judge the *Magistrate* in and for those very things, wherein we confesse he hath power to see us doe our duty, and therefore consequently must *judge* what our duty is: what is this but to play with *Magistrates*, with the *soules* of men, with *Heaven*, with *God*, with *Christ Iesus*? &c.

CHAP. CXXVI.

Peace. PAsse on (holy *Truth*) to that *similitude* whereby they illustrate that *Negative Assertion*: "The Prince in the Ship "(say they) is *governour* over the bodies of all in the Ship, but hee "hath no power to governe the *Ship* or the *Mariners* in the *Actions* of it: If the *Pilot* manifestly erre in his *Action*, the *Prince* may "reprove him, (and so say they may any *passenger*) if hee offend a-"gainst the *life* or *goods* of any, the *Prince* may in due time and place "punish him, which no private person may.

An apt similitude discussed concerning the Civill Magistrate.

Truth. Although (deare *Peace*) wee both agree that *civill powers* may not injoyne such devices, no nor inforce on any *Gods Institutions*, since *Christ Iesus* his comming: Yet for further *illustration* I shall propose some *Queries* concerning the *civill Magistrates* passing in the ship of the *Church*, wherein *Christ Iesus* hath appointed his *Ministers* and *Officers* as *Governours* and *Pilots*, &c.

First quærie: what if the Prince command the Mr. or Pilot to steere such a course which they know will never bring them to the harbour

If in a ship at Sea, wherein the *Governour* or *Pilot* of a ship undertakes to carry the ship to such a Port, the *civill Magistrate* (suppose a *King* or *Emperour*) shall command the *Master* such and such a course, to steere upon such or such a point, which the *Master* knowes is not their course, and which if they steere he shall never bring the *Ship* to that *Port* or harbour: what shall the *Master* doe? Surely all men will say, the *Master* of the *Ship* or *Pilot* is to present *Reasons* and *Arguments* from his *Mariners* Art (if the Prince bee capable of them) or else in humble and submissive manner to perswade the *Prince* not to interrupt them in their course and duty properly

perly belonging to them, to wit, *governing* of the *ſhip*, *ſteering* of the *courſe*, &c.

If the *Maſter* of the Ship command the *Mariners* thus and thus, in *cunning* the *ſhip*, *managing* the *helme*, *trimming* the *ſaile*, and the *Prince* command the *Mariners* a different or contrary courſe, who is to be obeyed?

2. Quærie. If the Mr. of the Ship command the mariners thus, & the Prince command the contrary, who is to be obeyed?

It is confeſt that the *Mariners* may lawfully diſobey the *Prince*, and obey the *governour* of the *ſhip* in the *actions* of the *ſhip*.

Thirdly, what if the *Prince* have as much skill (which is rare) as the *Pilot* himſelfe? I conceive it will be anſwered, that the *Maſter* of the ſhip and *Pilot*, in what concernes the ſhip, are *chiefe* and above (in reſpect of their office) the *Prince* himſelfe, and their commands ought to be attended by all the *Mariners*: unleſſe it bee in manifeſt errour, wherein tis granted any paſſenger may reprove the *Pilot*.

If the Prince have as much skill as the Mr. or Pilo, &c.

Fourthly, I aske if the *Prince* and his *Attendants* be unskilfull in the *ſhips* affaires, whether every *Sayler* and *Mariner*, the youngeſt and loweſt, be not (ſo farre as concernes the ſhip) to be preferred before the *Princes followers*, and the *Prince* himſelfe? and their *counſell* and advice more to be attended to, and their *ſervice* more to bee deſired and reſpected, and the *Prince* to bee requeſted to ſtand by and let the *buſineſſe* alone in their hands.

4. Quærie.

Fifthly, in caſe a wilfull *King* and his *Attendants*, out of opinion of their *skill*, or wilfulneſſe of *paſſion*, would ſo ſteere the courſe, trim ſayle, &c. as that in the judgement of the *Maſter* and *Seamen* the ſhip and lives ſhall bee indangered: whether (in caſe humble perſwaſions prevaile not) ought not the *Ships company* to refuſe to act in ſuch a courſe, yea and (in caſe power be in their hands) reſiſt and ſuppreſſe theſe dangerous *practices* of the *Prince* and his *followers*, and ſo ſave the *ſhip*?

5. Quærie. Whether the meaneſt ſaylor (in reſpect of his skill and ſervice) be not to be preferred before the Prince himſelf

Laſtly, ſuppoſe the Maſter out of baſe feare and cowardiſe, or covetous deſire of reward, ſhall yeeld to gratifie the minde of the Prince, contrary to the rules of Art and Experience, &c. and the ſhip come in danger, and periſh, and the Prince with it: if the Maſter get to ſhore, whether may he not be juſtly queſtioned, yea and ſuffer as guilty of the Princes death, and thoſe that periſhed with him? Theſe caſes are cleare, wherein according to this ſimilitude, the Prince ought not to governe and rule the actions of the ſhip, but ſuch whoſe office and charge and skill it is.

6 Quærie. Whether if the Mr. of the ſhip gratifie the Prince to the caſting away of the ſhip and Prince, &c. he be not guilty and liable to anſwer?

The application in generall of the ship to the Church, &c.

The result of all is this: The Church of Christ is the Ship, wherein the Prince (if a member, for otherwise the case is altred) is a passenger. In this ship the Officers and Governours, such as are appointed by the Lord Jesus, they are the chiefe, and (in those respects) above the Prince himselfe, and are to bee obeyed and submitted to in their works and administrations, even before the Prince himselfe.

The meaneſt Chriſtian according to his knowledg and grace, to bee preferred before the higheſt who have received none or leſſe grace of Chriſt.

In this respect every Christian in the Church, man or woman (if of more knowledge and grace of Christ ought to be of higher esteeme (concerning *Religion* and *Christianity*) then all the Princes in the world, who have either none or lesse *grace* or *knowledge* of *Christ*: although in *civill* things all *civill reverence, honour* and *obedience* ought to be yeelded by all men.

A true Minister of Christ ought to walk by another rule then the command of Civill Authority in Spirituall causes.

Therefore, if in matters of *Religion* the *King* command what is contrary to *Christs* rule (though according to his *perswasion* and *conscience*) who sees not that (according to the similitude) he ought not to be obeyed? yea, and (in case) boldly with spirituall force and power he ought to be resisted: And if any Officer of the *Church* of *Christ* shall out of baseneſſe yeeld to the command of the *Prince*, to the danger of the *Church*, and soules committed to his charge, the soules that perish (notwithstanding the *Princes* command) shall be laid to his charge.

Former positions compared with this similitude, and found to contradict each other.

If so then, I rejoyne thus: How agree these truths of this similitude with those former positions, *viz.* that the Civill Magistrate is keeper of both Tables, That he is to see the Church doe her duty, That he ought to establish the true Religion, suppresse and punish the false, and so consequently must discerne, judge and determine what the true gathering and governing of the *Church* is; what the *dutie* of every *Minister* of *Christ* is; what the true *Ordinances* are, and what the true *Administrations* of them; and where men faile, correct, punish, and reforme by the *Civill Sword*: I desire it may be answered in the feare and presence of him whose *eyes* are as a *flame* of *fire*, if this be not (according to the similitude, though contrary to their scope in proposing of it) to be *Governour* of the *Ship* of the *Church*, to see the *Master*, *Pilot*, and *Mariners* do their duty, in setting the course, steering the ship, trimming the sailes, keeping the watch, &c. and where they faile, to *punish* them; and therefore by undeniable consequence, to *judge* and *determine* what their *duties* are, when they doe *right*, and when they doe *wrong*: and this not onely

only in *manifest Errour*, (for then they say every passenger may reprove) but in their *ordinary* course and practice.

The similitude of a *Physitian* obeying the *Prince* in the *Body* politick; but prescribing to the *Prince* concerning the *Princes body*, wherein the *Prince* unlesse the *Physitian* manifestly erre) is to be obedient to the *Physitian*, and not to be *Judge* of the *Physitian* in his *Art*, but to be ruled and judged (as touching the state of his *body*) by the *Physitian*: I say this similitude and many others suiting with the former of a *ship*, might be alleadged to prove the *distinction* of the *Civill* and *Spirituall* estate, and that according to the rule of the *Lord Jesus* in the *Gospel*, the *Civill Magistrate* is only to attend the Calling of the *Civill Magistracie*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subjects*, and is himselfe (if a *member* of the *Church* and within) subject to the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein, as any member of the *Church* is, 1 Cor. 5.

The similitude of the Magistrate prescribing to the Physitian in civill things but the Physitian to the Magistrate concerning his body.

CHAP. CXXVII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, you have uprightly and aptly untied the *knots* of that 11 Head, let me present you with the 12 Head, which is

Concerning the Magistrates power in the Censures of the Church.

"First (say they) he hath no power to execute or to substi-
"tute any Civill officer to execute any Church censure, under the
"notion of Civill or Ecclesiasticall men.

The 12 Head examined.

"Secondly, Though a Magistrate may immediately Civilly cen-
"sure such an offender, whose secret sinnes are made manifest by
"their casting out, to be injurious to the good of the State; yet
"such offences of excommunicate persons, which manifestly hurt
"not the good of the State, he ought not to proceed against them,
"sooner or later, untill the Church hath made her complaint to
"him, and given in their just Reasons for helpe from them: For
"to give libertie to Magistrates without exception to punish all
"excommunicate persons within so many moneths, may prove in-
"jurious to the person who needs, to the Church who may desire,
"& to God who cals for longer indulgence from the hands of the.

"Thirdly, for persons not excommunicate, the Magistrate hath
"no power immediately to censure such offences of Church mem-
"bers by the power of the Sword, but onely for such as doe imme-

" diately hurt the peace of the State: Becaaſe the proper end of " Civill Government being the preſervation of the peace and wel- " fare of the State, they ought not to breake downe thoſe bounds, " and ſo to cenſure immediately for ſuch ſins which hurt not their " peace.

" Hence, firſt, Magiſtrates have no power to cenſure for ſecret " ſinnes, as deadneſſe, unbeleefe, becauſe they are ſecret, and not " yet come forth immediately to hurt the peace of the State; we ſay " immediately, for every ſinne, even originall ſinne, remotely hurts " the Civill State.

" Secondly, hence they have no power to cenſure for ſuch pri- " vate ſinnes in Church members, which being not hainous may " be beſt healed in a private way by the Churches themſelves. For " that which may be beſt healed by the Church, and yet is proſecu- " ted by the State, may make a deeper wound and greater rent in " the peace both of Church and State: the Magiſtrates alſo being " members of the Church, are bound to the rule of Chriſt, *viz.* not " to produce any thing in publike againſt a brother, which may bee " beſt healed in a private way.

" Now we call that private,

" Firſt, which is only remaining in Families, not knowne of o- " others: and therefore a Magiſtrate to heare and proſecute the " complaint of children againſt their parents, ſervants againſt ma- " ſters, wives againſt their husbands, without acquainting the " Church firſt, tranſgreſſeth the rule of Chriſt.

" Secondly, that which is between members of the ſame Church " or of divers Churches: for, it was a double fault of the Corin- " thians (1 *Cor* 6.) firſt to goe to Law, ſecondly to doe it before an " Infidell, ſeeing the Church was able to judge of ſuch kinde of " differences by ſome Arbitratours among themſelves: So that " the Magiſtrates ſhould referre the differences of Church mem- " bers to private healing, and try that way firſt: By meanes " whereof the Churches ſhould be free from much ſcandall, and the " State from much trouble, and the hearts of the godly from much " griefe in beholding ſuch breaches.

" Thirdly, ſuch offences which the Conſcience of a Brother dea- " ling with another privately, dares not as yet publiſh openly, " comming to the notice of the Magiſtrate accidentally, he ought " not to make publique as yet, nor to require the Grand Jurie to

" pre-

"preſent the ſame, no more then the other private brother, who is "dealing with him, untill hee ſee ſome iſſue of the private way.

"Thirdly, hence they have no power to put any to an oath *ex "officio*, to accuſe themſelves, or the brethren, in caſe either *crimi- "nis ſuſpecti*, or *pretenſi*, becauſe this preſerves not, but hurts many "wayes the peace of the State, and abuſeth the ordinance of an "Oath, which is ordained to end controverſies, not to begin them, "Heb. 6.16.

"Fourthly, hence they have no power to cenſure any for ſuch "offences as breake either no Civill Law of God, or Law of the "State publiſhed according to it, for the peace of the State being "preſerved by wholeſome Laws, when they are not hurt, the peace "is not hurt.

Truth. In this paſſage (as I ſaid before) I obſerve how weakly and partially they deale with the ſoules of *Magiſtrates* in telling them they are the *Guardians* of both *Tables*, muſt ſee the *Church* doe her duty, puniſh, &c. and yet in this paſſage the *Elders* or *Miniſters* of the *Churches* not only ſit *Judges* over the *Magiſtrates* actions in *Church* affaires, but in *civill* alſo, ſtraitning and inlarging his *commiſſion* according to the particular intereſts of their owne ends or (at the beſt) their Conſciences.

To give the government of the Church to the Civill Magiſtrate (as before) and yet to abridge his conſcience, what is it but to ſport with holy things? &c.

I grant the *Word* of the *Lord* is the only *rule*, *light* and *lanthorn*, in all caſes concerning *God* or Man: and that the *Miniſters* of the *Goſpell* are to teach this way, hold out this *Lanthorne* unto the feete of all men: but to give ſuch an abſolute power in *Spirituall* things to the *Civill Magiſtrate*, and yet after their owne ends or *Conſciences* to abridge it, is but the former ſporting with holy things, and to walk in *Contradictions*, as before I noted.

Many of the particulars, I acknowledge true, where the *Magiſtrate* is a *Member* of the *Church*: yet ſome paſſages call for *Explication*, and ſome for *Obſervation*.

First, in that they ſay, the *Civill Magiſtrate* ought not to proceed againſt the offences of an *Excommunicate* perſon, which manifeſtly hurt not the good of the *ſtate*, untill the *Church* hath made her complaint for helpe from them, I obſerve 2 things:

An evident contradiction.

First, a cleare grant, that when the *Church* complayneth for helpe, then the *Magiſtrate* may puniſh ſuch *offences* as hurt not the good of the *ſtate*: and yet in a few lines after, they ſay, the *Magiſtrates* have no power to cenſure ſuch *offences* of *Church* members

by the power of the *civill sword*, but only such, as doe immediately hurt the *peace* of the *civill state*; and they adde the *Reason*, because the proper end of the *civill Government*, being the preservation of the *peace* and *welfare* of the *state*, they ought not to breake downe those *bounds*, and so to censure immediately for such *sinnes* which hurt not their *peace*. And in the last place, they acknowledge the *Magistrate* hath no power to punish any, for any such offences as breake no *civill Law* of *God*, or *Law* of the *state*, published according to it: For the *peace* of the *state*, (say they) being preserved by wholesome *Lawes*, when they are not hurt, the *Peace* is not hurt.

An excellent confession of the proper end of Civill Government. When Civill Lawes are not broken, it is confest that Civill Peace is not hurt.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, here are excellent confessions unto which both *Truth* and *Grace* may gladly assent: but what is your second Observation from hence?

Truth. I observe secondly, what a deepe charge of *weaknes* is layd upon the *Church* of *Christ*, the *Lawes*, *Government* and *Officers* thereof, and consequently upon the *Lord Jesus* himselfe: to wit, that the *Church* is not enabled with all the power of *Christ*, to censure sufficiently an *offendour* (on whom yet they have executed the *deepest censure* in the world, to wit, *cutting* off from *Christ*, *shutting* out of *Heaven*, *casting* to the *Divell*) which offendours crime reacheth not to hurt the good of the *civill state*, but that she is forced to make *complaint* to the *civill state*, and the Officers thereof, for their helpe.

A grievous charge against the Christian Church, and the King of it.

O let not this be told in *Gath*, nor heard in *Ashkalon*! and O! how dimme must needs that *eye* be, which is *bloodshot*, with that *bloody* and cruell *Tenent* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*?

Peace. But what should be meant by this passage? *viz.* "That "they cannot give *liberty* to the *Magistrate* to punish without ex- "ception all *excommunicate* persons, within so many *months*.

Truth. It may be this hath reference to a *Law* made formerly in *New England*, that if an excommunicate person repented not within (as I have heard) three *months* after sentence of *excommunication*, then the *Civill Magistrate* might proceed with him.

A strange law in New England formerly against Excommunicate persons.

These *worthy men* see cause to question this *Law* upon good *reasons* rendred, though it appears not by their words that they wholly condemne it, only they desire a longer time, implying that after

some

some longer time the Magistrate may proceed: and indeed I see not, but according to such *principles*, if the *Magistrate* himselfe should be cast out, he ought to be proceeded against by the *Civill state*, and consequently deposed and punished (as the *Pope* teacheth) yea though *happily* he had not offended against either *bodies* or *goods* of any subject.

A dangerous doctrine against all civill Magistrates.

Thirdly, from this true *confession* that the *Magistrate* ought not to punish for many sinnes above mentioned: I observe how they crosse the *plea* which commonly they bring for the *Magistrates* punishing of false *Doctrines, Heretiques*, &c. [*viz.* Rom. 13. The *Magistrate* is to punish them that doe evill:] and when it is answered, True, evill against the *Second Table*, which is there onely spoken of, and against the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, which are the proper *object* of the *Civill Magistrate*, (as they confesse:) It is replied, why is not *Idolatry* sinne? *Heresie* sinne? *Schisme* and false *Worship* sinne? Yet heere in this passage many *evils*, many *sins*, even of *Parents* against their *Children*, *Masters* against their *Servants*, *Husbands* against their *Wives*, the *Magistrate* ought not to meddle with.

Many sins prohibited to be punished by the Magistrate and yet they also charge him to punish all sin, Rom. 13.

Fourthly, I dare not assent to that assertion, "*That even originall sinne remotely hurts the civill State.* Tis true, some doe, as *inclinations* to *murther, theft, whoredome, slander, disobedience* to *Parents* and *Magistrates*: but *blindnes* of *minds*, *hardnes* of *heart*, *inclination* to choose or worship this or that *God*, this or that *Christ*, beside the true, these hurt not remotely the *civill state*, as not concerning it, but the *spirituall*.

Originall sin charged to hurt remotely (but falsely) the civill state.

Peace. Let me (in the last place) remind you of their charge against the *Magistrate*, and which will necessarily turne to my wrong and prejudice: They say, the *Magistrate* in hearing and prosecuting the *complaints* of *children* against their *parents*, of *servants* against their *masters*, of *wives* against their *husbands*, without acquainting the *Church* first, transgresseth the rule of *Christ*.

Magistrates strangely forbidden to hear civill complaints.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, they that pretend to be thy dearest friends, will prove thy bitter enemies.

First, I ask for one *rule* out of the *Testament* of the *Lord Jesus*, to prove this deepe *charge* and accusation against the *Civill Magistrate*?

Thousands of Commonweales where no true church of Christ.

Secondly, This is built upon a supposition of what rarely falls out in the World, to wit, that there must necessarily be a true Church

Church of Christ (in every lawfull State) unto whom these complaints must goe: whereas how many thousand Common-weales have been and are, where the name of Christ hath not (or not truly) been sounded.

The complaints of families properly fall into the cognizance of the civill Magistrate.

Thirdly, The Magistrates office (according to their own grant) properly respecting the bodies and goods of their *Subjects*, and the whole *body* of the *Common-weale* being made up of *Families* (as the *members* constituting that *body*) I see not how (according to the rule of *Christ* (*Rom.*13.) the *Magistrate* may refuse to heare and helpe the just *complaints* of any such *petitioners*, Children, Wives, and Servants, against *oppression*, &c.

They who give to Magistrates more then is due, are most apt to disrobe them of what is theirs.

Peace. I have long observed that such as have been ready to ascribe to the *Civill Magistrate* and his *Sword* more then *God* hath ascribed, have also been most ready to cut off the skirts, and (in case of his inclining to another *conscience* then their owne) to spoile him of the robe of that due *Authoritie* with which it hath pleased God and the People to invest and cloath him.

But I shall now present you with the 13. Head: whose Title is,

CHAP. CXXIX.

13. Head.

What power Magistrates have in publike Assemblies of Churches.

"FIrst (say they) the Churches have power to assemble and continue such Assemblies for the performance of all Gods Ordinances, without or against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistratu*, because

"Christians are commanded so to doe, *Matth.*28.18.19.20.

"Also because an Angel from God commanded the Apostles so "to doe, *Acts* 5.20.

"Likewise from the practice of the Apostles, who were not rebellious or seditious, yet they did so, *Act.* 4.18.19.20. *Act.* 5. "27 28.

"Further from the practice of the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, who did meet, preach, pray, minister Sacraments, censures, "*Act.*4.23. *renuente Magistratu.*

"More-

" Moreover from the exhortation to the Hebrewes, 10. 25. not " to forsake their Assemblies, though it were in dangerous times, and " if they might doe this under professed Enemies, then we may " much more under Christian Magistrates; else we were worse un- " der Christian Magistrates then Heathen: therefore Magistrates " may not hinder them herein, as *Pharaoh* did the people from sa- " crifising, for Wrath will be upon the Realme, and the King and " his Sons, *Ezr.* 7.23.

Secondly, it hath been a usurpation of forraigne Countries and Magistrates to take upon them to determine times and places of " Worship: rather let the Churches be left herein to their inof- " fensive Libertie.

Thirdly, concerning their power of Synod Assemblies:

" First in corrupt times, the Magistrate desirous to make Refor- " mation of Religion, may and should call those who are most fit in " severall Churches, to assemble together in a Synod, to discusse " and declare from the Word of God, matters of Doctrine and " Worship, and to helpe forward the Reformation of the Churches " God: Thus did *Josiah*.

Secondly, in the reformed times he ought to give Libertie to " the Elders of severall Churches to assemble themselves by their " owne mutuall and voluntary agreement, at convenient times, as " the meanes appointed by God, whereby he may mediately reform " matters amisse in Churches, which immediately he cannot nor " ought not to doe.

Thirdly, Those meetings for this end we conceive may be of " two sorts.

" 1. Monthly, of some of the Elders and Messengers of the " Churches.

" 2. Annuall, of all the Messengers and Elders of the Chur- " ches.

" First monthly of some: First, those members of Churches which " are neerest together, and so may most conveniently assemble to- " gether, may by mutuall agreement once in a moneth consult of " such things as make for the good of the Churches.

" Secondly, the time of this meeting may be sometimes at one " place, sometimes at another, upon the Lecture day of every " Church where Lectures are: and let the Lecture that day be en- " ded by eleven of the clock.

"Thirdly, let the end of this Assembly be to doe nothing by "way of Authoritie, but by way of Councell, as the need of "Churches shall require.

Secondly Annuall, of all the Elders within our jurisdiction or o- "thers, whereto the Churches may send once in the yeare to con- "sult together for the publike welfare of all the Churches.

"First, let the place be sometimes at one Church, sometimes at "another, as Reasons for the present may require.

"Secondly, let all the Churches send their waighty questions "and cases six weeks or a month before the set time, to the Church "where the Assembly is to be held, and the Officers thereof dis- "perse them speedily to all the Churches, that so they may have "time to come prepared to the discussing of them.

"Thirdly, let this Assembly doe nothing by Authoritie, but only "by Councell, in all cases which fall out, leaving the determinati- "on of all things to particular Churches within themselves, who "are to judge, and so to receive all doctrines and directions agree- "ing only with the Word of God.

The grounds of these Assemblies.

"First, need of each others helpe, in regard of dayly emergent "troubles, doubts, and controversies.

"Secondly, love of each others fellowship.

"Thirdly, of Gods glory out of a publike spirit to seeke the wel- "fare of the Churches, as well as their owne, 1 *Cor.* 10 33. 2 *Cor.* "11. 23.

Fourthly, The great blessing and speciall presence of God upon "such Assemblies hitherto.

Fifthly, the good Report the Elders and Brethren of Churches "shall have hereby, by whose communion of Love others shall "know they are the Disciples of Christ.

CHAP. CXXX.

A strange double picture

Truth. I May well compare this *passage* to a double *picture*: on the first part or side of it a most faire and beautifull *countenance* of the pure and holy Word of *God*: on the later side or part, a most sowre and uncomely deformed *looke* of a meere humane invention.

Con-

Concerning the former, they prove the true and unquestionable *power* and *priviledge* of the *Churches* of *Christ* to assemble and practise all the holy *Ordinances* of *God*, without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*.

The great priviledges of the true Spouse or Church of Christ.

Their Arguments from *Christs* and the *Angels* voyce, from the *Apostles* and *Churches* practice, I desire may take deepe *impression* written by the point of a *diamond*, the finger of *Gods spirit*, in all hearts whom it may concerne.

This *Libertie* of the *Churches* of *Christ* he inlargeth and amplifieth so far, that he calls it an *usurpation* of some *Magistrates* to determine the time and place of *Worship*: and say, that rather the *Churches* should be left to their inoffensive *libertie*.

Upon which Grant I must renew my former *Quarie*, Whether this be not to walke in *contradictions*, to hold with *light*, yet walke in *darknes*? for

To hold with light and walk in darknesse.

How can they say the *Magistrate* is appointed by *God* and *Christ* the *Guardian* of the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, bound to set up the true *Church*, *Ministrie* and *Ordinances*, to see the *Church* doe her duty, that is, to force her to it by the *Civill sword*: bound to suppresse the false *Church*, *Ministrie* and *Ordinances*, and therefore consequently, to judge and determine which is the true *Church*, which is the false, and what is the duty of the *Church officers* and *members* of it, and what not: and yet (say they) the *Churches* must assemble, and practice all *Ordinances*, without his *consent*, yea against it: Yea and he hath not so much power as to *judge* what is a convenient *time* and *place* for the *Churches* to assemble in; which if he should doe, he should be an *usurper*, and should abridge the *Church* of her inoffensive *libertie*.

The Magistrate lift up to be the chief governour of the Church, and yet cast downe not to have power to appoint the place or time of meeting.

As if the *Master* or *Governour* of a Ship had power to judge who were true and fit officers, mariners &c. for the managing of the Ship, and were bound to see them each performe his duty, and to force them thereunto, and yet he should be an *usurper* if hee should abridge them of *meeting* and *managing* the *vessel* at their pleasure, when they please, and how they please, without and against his *consent*: Certainly if a *Physician* have power to judge the *disease* of his *patient*, and what course of *Physicke* he must use, can he bee counted an *usurper* unlesse the *patient* might take what *physicke* himselfe pleased, day or night, summer or winter, at home in his chamber, or abroad in the aire?

Similitudes illustrating the Magistrate cannot be both governor of the Church and yet usurpe in commanding.

Secondly, by their *grant* in this passage that *Gods* people may thus assemble and practice *ordinances* without and against the consent of the *Magistrate*. I infer, then also may they become a *Church*, *constitute* and *gather* without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*: Therefore may the *Messengers* of *Christ*, *preach* and *baptise*, that is, make *disciples* and *wash* them into the true profession of *Christianity* according to the *commission*, though the *Magistrate* determine and publikly declare, such *Ministers*, such *baptismes*, such *Churches* to be hereticall.

If a Church may assemble without and against the Magistrates consent (as is affirmed) then much more constitute and become a Church, &c.

Thirdly, it may here be questioned what power is now given to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Church matters* and Spirituall affairs?

If it be answered that although *Gods people* may doe thus against the *Magistrates* consent, yet others may not.

I answer (as before) who sees not herein partiality to themselves: *Gods* people must enjoy their *Liberty* of *Conscience*, and not be forced; but all the Subjects in a *Kingdome* or *Monarchie*, or the whole world beside, must be compelled by the power of the *Civill Sword* to assemble thus and thus.

Grosse partiality.

Secondly, I demand who shall judge whether they are *Gods people* or no, for they say whether the *Magistrate consent* or *consent* not, that is *judge* so or not, they ought to goe on in the Ordinances *renuente Magistratu*?

If the Civill Magistrate be to build the Spirituall or Christian house, he must judge of the matter.

How agrees this with their former and generall *assertion*, that the *Civill Magistrate* must set up the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, therefore by their owne grant he must judge the godly themselves, he must discerne who are fit matter for the House of *God*, *living stones*, and what unfit matter, *trash* and *rubbish*?

A close and faithfull intergatory to the consciences of the authors of these positions

Those *worthy men*, the *Authours* of these *positions*, and others of their *judgement* have cause to examine their soules with feare and trembling in the presence of *God* upon this *intergatory*, viz. whether or no this be not the *bottome* and *root* of the matter: If they could have the same supply of maintenance without the helpe of the *Civill Sword*, or were perswaded to live upon the voluntary *contribution* of poore Saints, or their owne *labour*, as the *Lord Jesus* and his first *Messengers* did: I say, if this lay not in the *bottom*, whether or no they could not be willingly shut of the *Civill power*, and left only to their *inoffensive liberties*?

A sad quærie to some concerning their practice.

I could also put a sad *Quarie* to the *consciences* of some, viz. what should be the *reason* why in their *native Country* where the *Magi-*

strate

ſtrate conſented not, they forbore to practice ſuch *Ordinances* as now they doe and intended to doe, ſo ſoone as they got into another place where they might ſet up *Magiſtrates* of their owne, and a *Civill Sword*, &c. How much is it to be feared that in caſe their *Magiſtracie* ſhould alter, or their perſons be caſt under a *Magiſtracie* prohibiting their practice, whether they would then maintaine their *ſeparate* meetings without and againſt the conſent of the Magiſtrate, *renuente Magiſtratu?*

Laſtly, it may be queſtioned how it comes to paſſe that in pleading for the *Churches liberty* more now under the *Chriſtian Magiſtrate*, ſince the *Chriſtians* tooke that *liberty* in dangerous times under the *Heathen*, why he quotes to prove ſuch liberty, *Pharaohs* hindring the *Iſraelites* from *worſhip*, and *Ezra* 7.23. *Artaxerxes* his feare of wrath upon the Realme?

A marvailous challenge of more Libertie to Chriſtians under a Chriſtian Magiſtrate then under the Heathen.

Are not all their hopes and arguments built upon the *Chriſtian Magiſtrate*, whom (ſay they) the firſt *Chriſtians* wanted, and yet do they ſcare the *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* (whom they account the *governour* of the *Church*) with *Pharaoh* and *Artaxerxes* that knew not God, expecting that the *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* ſhould act and command no more in Gods worſhip then they?

But what can thoſe inſtances of *Pharaohs* evill in hindring the *Iſraelites* worſhipping of *God*, and *Artaxerxes* giving liberty to *Iſrael* to worſhip *God*, and build the *Temple*, what can they prove but a duty in all *Princes* and *Civill Magiſtrates* to take off the yoake of *bondage*, which commonly they lay on the necks of the ſoules of their *ſubjects* in matters of *Conſcience* and *Religion?*

CHAP. CXXXI.

If Magiſtrates were appointed by Chriſt Jeſus Governours of his Kingdome, it were not reaſonable that Chriſtians ſhould more freely breake the commands of the Chriſtian, then of the Heathen Magiſtrate.

Peace. IT is plauſible, but not reaſonable that *Gods* people ſhould (conſidering the drift of theſe poſitions) expect more liberty under a *Chriſtian* then under a *Heathen Magiſtrate*: Have *Gods* people more liberty to breake the command of a *Chriſtian* then an *Heathen governour?* and ſo to ſet up *Chriſts Church* and *Ordinances* after their owne *conſcience* againſt his conſent more then againſt the conſent of an *Heathen* or unbeleeving *Magiſtrate?* what is become of all the great expectation what a *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* may and ought to doe in eſtabliſhing the *Church*, in reforming the *Church*, and in puniſhing the contrary? 'Tis true (ſay men)

men) in *Christs* time and in the time of the first *Ministers* and *Churches* there were no *Christian Magistrates*, and therefore in that case, it was in vaine for *Christians* to seeke unto the *Heathen Magistrates* to governe the *Church*, suppresse *Heretickes*, &c. but now we enjoy *Christian Magistrates*, &c.

Truth. All *Reason* and *Religion* would now expect more submission therefore (in matters concerning *Christ*) to a *Christian Magistrate*, then to a *Pagan* or *Antichristian* ruler! But (deare *Peace*) the day will discover, the fire will trie, 1 *Cor.*3. what is but wood, hay, and stubble, though built (in mens upright intention) on that foundation *Jesus Christ*.

The necessity of Civill government in generall of God, but the speciall kindes of men, 1 Pet. 2.13.

But (to winde up all) as it is most true that *Magistracy* in generall is of God (Rom.13.) for the preservation of Mankinde in *civill order* and *peace*, (the *World* otherwise would bee like the *Sea*, wherein Men, like *Fishes* would hunt and devoure each other, and the greater devour the lesse:) So also it is true, that *Magistracy* in speciall for the severall kindes of it is of Man, 1. Pet. 2.13. Now what kinde of *Magistrate* soever the people shall agree to set up, whether he receive *Christianity* before he be set in office, or whether he receive *Christianity* after, hee receives no more power of *Magistracy*, then a *Magistrate* that hath received no *Christianity*. For neither of them both can receive more, then the *Commonwealth*, the *Body* of People and *civill State*, as men, communicate unto them, and betrust with them.

Civill Magistrates are derivatives from the fountaines or bodies of people.

All lawfull *Magistrates* in the World, both before the comming of *Christ Jesus*, and since, (excepting those unparaleld *typicall Magistrates* of the *Church* of *Israel*) are but *Derivatives* and *Agents* immediately derived and employed as *eyes* and *hands*, serving for the good of the whole: Hence they have and can have no more *Power*, then fundamentally lies in the *Bodies* or *Fountaines* themselves, which *Power*, *Might*, or *Authority*, is not *Religious*, *Christian*, &c. but naturall, humane and civill.

A beleeving Magistrate no more a Magistrate then an unbeleeving.

And hence it is true, that a *Christian Captaine*, *Christian*, *Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, and (to consequently) *Magistrate*, &c. is no more a *Captaine*, *Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, *Magistrate*, &c. then a Captaine, Merchant, &c. of any other Conscience or Religion.

The excellency of Christs [illegible] all

'Tis true, Christianity teacheth all these to act in their severall callings, to an higher ultimate end, from higher principles, in a more

more heavenly and ſpirituall manner, &c.

CHAP. CXXXII.

Peace. O that thy *Light* and *Brightnes* (deare Truth) might ſhine to the darke World in this particular: let it not therefore be grievous, if I requeſt a little further illuſtration of it.

Truth. In his ſeaſon *God* will glorifie himſelfe in all his *Truths*: but to gratifie thy deſire, thus: A *Pagan* or *Antichriſtian Pilot* may be as skilfull to carry the Ship to its deſired Port, as any *Chriſtian Mariner* or *Pilot* in the World, and may performe that worke with as much ſafety and ſpeed: yet have they not command over the *ſoules* and *conſciences* of their *paſſengers* or *mariners* under them, although they may juſtly ſee to the labour of the one, and the *civill* behaviour of all in the *ſhip*: A *Chriſtian Pilot* he performes the ſame worke, (as likewiſe doth the Metaphoricall *Pilot* in the ſhip of the *Commonweale*) from a principle of *knowledge* and *experience*: but more then this, he acts from a roote of the feare of *God* and love to *man*[*kind*], in his whole courſe. Secondly, his *aime* is more to glorifie *God* then to gaine his pay, or make his voyage. Thirdly, he walkes heavenly with Men, and *God*, in a conſtant obſervation of *Gods* hand in *ſtormes*, *calmes*, &c. So that the thread of *Navigation* being equally ſpun by a *believing* or *unbelieving Pilot*, yet is it drawn over with the *gold* of *Godlines* and *Chriſtianitie* by a *Chriſtian Pilot*, while he is holy in all manner of *Chriſtianitie*, 1 Pet. 1 15. But laſtly, the *Chriſtian Pilots* power over the Soules and *conſciences* of his *Sailers* and *Paſſengers* is not greater then that of the *Antichriſtian*, otherwiſe then he can ſubdue the ſoules of any by the two-edged ſword of the *Spirit*, the Word of *God*, and by his holy demeanour in his place, &c.

The Magiſtrate like a Pilot in the Ship of the Commonweale.

Chriſtianitie fleeces a Chriſtian Pilots courſe.

The Chriſtian Pilot hath no more power over the ſoules of his Mariners or paſſengers, then the unchriſtian or Pagan Pilot.

Peace. I ſhall preſent you with no other conſideratioon in this firſt part of the Picture, but this only:

Although the tearme *Heathen* is moſt commonly appropriated to the wilde naked *Americans*, &c. yet theſe worthy men juſtly apply it even to the civilized *Romanes*, &c. and conſequently muſt it be applied to the moſt *civilized Antichriſtians*, who are not the *Church* and people of *God* in *Chriſt*.

The tearmes Heathen and Chriſtian Magiſtrate.

Truth. The Word גוים in the *Hebrew*, and ἔθνη in the *Greeke*, ſignifie no more then the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the Earth, which were

were without and not within, the true typicall nationall *Church* of the *Jewes* before *Christ*, and since his comming, the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the *World*, who are without that one holy Nation of the *Christian Israel* the Church gathered unto *Christ Jesus* in particular and distinct *congregations* all the World over.

All out of Christ are heathens, that is of the Nations or Gentiles.

Translatours promiscuously render the words *Gentiles*, *Heathens*, *Nations*: whence it is evident that even such as professe the Name of *Christ* in an unregenerate and impenitent estate, whether *Papist* or *Protestant* are yet without, that is *Heathen*, *Gentiles* or of the *Nations*.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, it is now time to cast your eye on the second part of this *Head* or picture uncomely and deformed.

Truth. It containes two sorts of Religious meetings or assemblies.

First, more extraordinary and occasionall, for which he quotes the practice of *Josiah*.

Josiah a type of Christ Jesus the King of the Church.

An. *Josiah* was in the type, so are not now the severall Governours of Commonweales, *Kings* or *Governours* of the *Church* or *Israel*, whose state I have proved to be a *None-such*, and not to bee parallel'd but in the *Antitype* the particular *Church* of *Christ*, where *Christ Jesus* alone sits *King* in his owne most holy *Government*.

Secondly, they propound meetings or *assemblings ordinary stated* and *constant*, *yearly* and *monthly* unto which the *civill Magistrate* should give *liberty*. For these meetings they propound plausible arguments from the *necessity* of them from *Christian fellowship* from *Gods glory*, from the experience of the benefit of them, and from the good report of them, as also those two Scriptures, 1 Cor. 10. 33. 2 Cor. 11. 38.

An unjust and partiall desire of liberty to some consciences, & bondage unto all others.

To these I answer, If they intend that the *civill Magistrate* should permit *liberty* to the free and voluntary Spirituall meetings of their Subjects, I shall subscribe unto them; but if they intend that the *Magistrate* should give *liberty* only unto themselves, and not to the rest of their *subjects*, that is to desire their owne *soules* only to be free, and all other *soules* of their *subjects* to be kept in *bondage*.

Se-

Secondly, if they intend that the *Magistrate* should inforce all the *Elders* of such *Churches* under their *Jurisdiction*, to keepe *correspondencie* with them in such meetings, then I say (as before) it is to cause him to give *Libertie* with a *partiall* hand, and *unequall Ballance*: for thus I argue: If the *Civill State* and *Civill officers* be of their *Religion* and *Conscience*, it is not proper for them to give *libertie* or *freedome*, but to give honourable *testimonie* and *approbation*, and their own personall *submission* to the *Churches*. But if the *civill State* and *Officers* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and shall be bound to grant permission and libertie to them, their *consciences* and *meetings*, and not to those of his own *Religion* and *Conscience* also, how will this appeare to be equall in the very eye of Common *peace* and *righteousnesse*?

For those *yearely* and *monthly* meetings, as we find not any such in the first *Churches*; So neither will those generall *arguments* from the plausible pretence of *Christian* fellowship, *Gods* glory, &c. prove such particular wayes of *glorifying God*, without some *precept* or *president* of such a kind.

For those *Scriptures*, 1 Cor. 10. 33. & 2 Cor. 11. 28. expressing the Apostle *Paul* his zeale for glorifying *God*, and his care for all the *Churches*, it is cleere they concerne such as are indeed *Pauls successors*, sent forth by *Christ Jesus* to preach and gather *Churches*; but those Scriptures concerne not the *Churches* themselves, nor the *Pastours* of the *Churches* properly, least of all the *Civill State* and *Commonwealth*, neither of which (the *Churches*, the *Pastours*, or *Commonwealth*) doe goe forth personally with that *commission*, *Matth.* 28. to *preach* and *baptize*, that is, to gather *Churches* unto *Christ*.

The Commission. Mat. 28. of preaching and baptizing not properly directed to the Churches, or fixed Teachers of it, least of all to the Commonweale.

For as for the first, the *Churches* are not *Ministers* of the *Gospel*: the *Angels* or *Messengers* of the *Churches*, and the *Churches* themselves were distinct, *Revel.* 2. & 3.

As for the second, the *pastours* and *Elders* of the *Church*, their worke is not to *gather* Churches, but to *governe* and *feed* them, *Acts* 20. & 1 *Pet.* 5.

A quærie, who have now the care of all the Churches?

As for the *civill Magistrate*, it is a *Ministry* indeed: (*Magistrates* are Gods *Ministers*, Rom. 13.) but it is of another Nature, and therefore none of these, the *Churches* of *Christ*, the *Shepherds* of those *Churches*, nor the *civill Magistrate*, succeeding the *Apostles* or first *Messengers*, these Scriptures alleadged concerne not any of

 these

these to have care of all the *Churches*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, who can heare this Word, but will presently cry out, Who then may rightly challenge that *commission*, and that *promise*, Math. 28. &c.

A Ministrie before the Church.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, in due place and season, that *Question* may be resolved; but doubtles the true *successours* must precede or goe before the *Church*, making *Disciples*, and *baptizing* as the *Apostles* did, who were neither the *Churches*, nor the *Pastors* and fixed *Teachers* of them, but as they gathered, so had the care of the *Churches*.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Peace. I Cease to urge this further; and, in the last place, marvell what should be the reason of that Conclusion, "viz. There is no power of determination in any of these mee-"tings, but that all must be left to the particular determination of "the Churches.

Truth. At the meeting at *Jerusalem*, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* and others were sent thither from the *Church* of *Christ* at *Antioch*, the *Apostles* and *Elders* did not only *consult* and advise, but particularly *determined* the *Question* which the *Church* of *Antioch* sent to them, about *Acts* 15. and send their particular *determinations* or *decrees* to the *Churches* afterward.

Acts 15. commonly misapplied.

So that if these *Assemblies* were of the nature of that *pattern* or *president* (as is generally pretended) and had such a *promise* of the *assistance* and *concurrence* of the *Spirit*, as that *Assembly* had, they might then say as that *Assembly* did, *Acts* 15. *It seemeth good to the holy Spirit and to us*: and should not leave particular *determinations* to the particular Churches, in which sometimes are very few able *Guides* and *Leaders*.

Peace. But what should be the Reason to perswade these worthy men to conceive the *particular Congregations* or *Churches* to be more fit and competent *Judges* in such high points, then an *Assembly* of so excellent and choice persons, who must only consult and advise, &c.?

Christs promise and presence only makes an Assembly blessed

Truth. Doubtlesse there is a strong conviction in their Soules of a professed promised *presence* of the *Lord Jesus* in the midst of his *Church* gathered after his mind and will, more then unto such kind

of

of *Assemblies*, though consisting of far more able persons, even the *flower* and *creame* of all the *Churches*.

Peace. It is generally conceived, that the promise of *Christs presence* to the end of the World (*Matth.* 28.) is made to the *Church*.

Truth. There is doubtlesse a promise of Christs presence in the midst of his Church and Congregation, *Matth.* 18. but the promise of Christs presence, *Matth.* 28. cannot properly and immediately belong to the *Church* constituted and gathered, but to such *Ministers* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus*, whom he is pleased to imploy to gather and constitute the *Church* by *converting* and *baptizing:* unto which *Messengers* (if Christ Jesus will be pleased to send such forth) that passage, *Acts* 15. will be *prædentiall.*

The promise of Christs presence, Mat. 18. distinct from that, Mat. 28.

Peace. The 14. generall head is this, *viz.* What power particular *Churches* have particularly over *Magistrates.*

14. Position examined.

"First (say they) they may censure any Member (though a Magistrate) if by sinne he deserve it.

"First, because Magistrates must be subject to Christ, but Christ "censures all offenders, 1 Cor. 5 4. 5.

Secondly, Every Brother must be subject to Christs censure, *Mat.* 18. 15, 16, 17. But Magistrates are brethren, *Deut.* 17. 15.

Thirdly, They may censure all within the Church, 1 Cor. 5. 12.

"But the Magistrates are within the Church, for they are either "without, or within, or above the Church: not the first, nor the "last, for so Christ is only above it.

"Fourthly, The Church hath a charge of all the Soules of the "members, and must give account thereof, *Heb.* 13. 17.

"Fifthly, Christs censures are for the good of Soules, 1 Cor. 5. "6. but Magistrates must not be denied any priviledge for their "Soules, for then they must lose a priviledge of Christ by being Magistrates.

"Sixthly, In Church priviledges Christians are all one, *Gal.* 2. 28. "Col. 3. 11.

2. Magistrates may be censured for apparent and manifest sinne "against any Morall Law of God, in their judiciall proceedings, "or in the execution of their office. Courts are not Sanctuaries for "sin; and if for no sin, then not for such especially.

"First, because sinnes of Magistrates in Court are as hatefull to "God. 2. And as much spoken against, *Isa.* 10. 1. *Mic.* 3. 1.

"Thirdly, God hath no where granted such immunity to them.
"Fourthly, what a brother may doe privately in case of private of-
"fence, that the Church may doe publikely in case of publike scan-
"dall. But a private brother may admonish and reprove privately
"in case of any private offence, *Mat.*18.15. *Luc.*19.17. *Psal.*141.5
"Lastly, Civill Magistracy doth not exempt any Church from
"faithfull watchfulnesse over any member, nor deprive a Church of
"her due power, nor a Church member of his due priviledge, which
"is to partake of every Ordinance of God, needfull and requisite to
"their winning and salvation. *Ergò*,

CHAP. CXXXV.

Truth. THese Arguments to prove the *Magistrate* subject (even for sinne committed in judiciall proceeding) I judge, like Mount *Zion*, immoveable, and every true *Christian* that is a Magistrate will judge so with mee: Yet a Quærie or two will not be unseasonable.

Church administrations are charged firstly upon the Ministers thereof.

First, where they name the *Church* in this whole passage, whether they meane the *Church* without the *Ministry* or *Governours* of it, or with the *Elders* and *Governours* joyntly? and if the latter, why name they not the *Governours* at all, since that in all *administrations* of the *Church* the duty lies not upon the *body* of the *Church*, but firstly and properly upon the *Elders*.

It is true in case of the *Elders* obstinacy in apparent sinne, the *Church* hath power over him, having as much power to take down as to set up, *Col.*4. Say to *Archippus*, *&c.* Yet in the ordinary dispensations and administrations of the *Ordinances*, the *Ministers* or *Elders* thereof are first charged with duty, &c.

The Ministers or Governors of Christs Church to be acknowledged in their dispensations.

Hence first for the *Apostles*, who converted, gathered & espoused the *Churches* to *Christ*, I question whether their *power* to *edification* was not a *power* over the *Churches*, as many *Scriptures* seem to imply.

Secondly, for the ordinary *Officers* ordained for the ordinary and constant guiding, feeding, and governing the *Church*, they were *Rulers*, *Shepheards*, *Bishops*, or *Overseers*, and to them was every *letter* and *charge*, *commendation* or *reproofe* directed. *Revel.*2.3. *Acts* 20. And that place by them quoted for the submission of the *Magistrates* to the *Church*, it mentions only *submission* to the *Rulers* thereof, *Heb.*13.17. Those excellent men concealed not this out of *ignorance*, and therefore most certainly in a silent way confesse that their *doctrine* concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Church* causes would

seem

too grosse, if they should not have named the whole *Church*, and but silently implyed the *Governours* of it? And is it not wonderfull in any sober eye, how the same persons (*Magistrates*) can be exalted over the *Ministers* and *Members*, as being bound to *establish, reforme, suppresse* by the *civill sword* in punishing the *body* or *goods*, and yet for the same actions (if the Church and Governours thereof so conceive) be liable to a punishment ten thousand times more transcendent, to wit, *excommunication*, a punishment reaching to their *soules* and *consciences*, and eternall estate, and this not only for *common* sins, but for those *actions* which immediately concerne the *execution* of their *civill* office, in *judiciall* proceeding.

A paradox, Magistrates made the Judges of the Churches, and Governours of them, yet censurable by them.

Peace. The *Prelates* in *Q. Elizabeths* dayes, kept with more plainnesse to their principles, for acknowledging the *Queen* to be Supreme in all *Church causes*, (according to the Title and Power of *Henry* the 8. her Father, taken from the *Pope*, and given to him by the *Parliament*) they professed that the *Queen* was not a *sheepe*, but under *Christ* the chiefe *Shepheard*, and that the *Church* had not power to *excommunicate* the *Queen*.

Queene *Eliz.* Bishops patrones to their principles, then many of a better spirit and profession.

Truth. Therefore (sweet *Peace*) it was esteemed *capitall* (in that faithfull *witnesse* of so much *truth* as he saw, even unto *death*, Mr. *Barrow*) to maintaine before the *Lords* of the *Councell*, that the *Queen* herselfe was subject to the power of *Christ Jesus* in the *Church*: which *Truth* overthrew that other *Tenent*, that the *Queene* should be *Head* and *Supreme* in all *Church* causes.

Mr. *Barrow's* profession concerning Queen *Elizabeth.*

Peace. Those Bishops according to their principles (though bad and false) dealt plainly (though cruelly) with Mr. *Barrow*: but these *Authors*, whose *principles* are the same with the *Bishops* (concerning the *power* of the *Magistrate* in *Church* affaires) though they wave the *Title*, and will not call them *Heads* or *Governors* (which now in lighter times seems too grosse) yet give they as much *spirituall power* and *authoritie* to the *civill Magistrates* to the full, as ever the *Bishops* gave unto them, although they yet also with the same breath lay all their *honour* in the *dust*, and make them to lick the *dust* of the feet of the Churches, as it is propheſied, the *Kings* and *Queens* of the *Earth* shall doe, when Christ makes them nursing *fathers*, and nursing *mothers*, Isa. 49. The *truth* is, Christ Jesus is honoured, when the *civill Magistrate* a member of the Church, punisheth any member or *Elder* of the *Church* with the *civill sword*, even to the *death*, for any crime against the *civill State* so deserving it; for he beares not the sword in vain.

Is not this too like the Popes profession of *servus servorum Dei*, yet holding our his slipper to the lips of Princes, Kings and Emperours?

And *Christ Jesus* is againe most highly honoured, when for apparent sinne in the *Magistrate*, being a member of the *Church* (for otherwise they have not to meddle with him) the *Elders* with the *Church*, admonish him and recover his Soule, or if *obstinate* in sin, cast him forth of their *Spirituall* and *Christian* fellowship, which doubtlesse they could not doe, were the *Magistrate supreme Governour* under *Christ* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Church* causes, and so consequently the true heire and successour of the *Apostles*.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

15. Head examined.

Peace. THe 15. Head runs thus: viz. In what cases must Churches proceed with Magistrates in case of offence.

"We like it well, that Churches be slower in proceeding to "excommunication, as of all other, so of Civill Magistrates espe- "cially in point of their Judiciall proceedings, unlesse it be in scan- "dalous breach of a manifest Law of God, and that after notorious "evidence of the fact, and that after due seeking and waiting for "satisfaction in a previous Advertisement. And though each par- "ticular Church in respect of the Government of Christ be inde- "pendent and absolute within it selfe, yet where the Common- "weale consists of Church members, it may be a point of Christi- "an wisedome to consider and consult with the Court also, so far "as any thing may seeme doubtfull to them in the Magistrates case, "wch may be further cleered by intelligence given from them; but "otherwise we dare not leave it in the power of any Church to "forbear to proceed & agree upon that on Earth, which they plain- "ly see Christ hath resolved in his Word, and will ratifie in Heaven.

Truth. If the scope of this Head be to qualifie and adorne *christian impartialitie* and *faithfulnes* with *christian wisdome* and *tenderesse*, I honour and applaud such a *Christian* motion: but whereas that case is put, which is no where found in the *patterne* of the first *Churches*, nor suiting with the Rule of *Christianitie*, to wit, that the *Commonweale* should consist of *Church members*, which must be taken *privatively*, to wit, that none should be admitted members of the *Commonweale*, but such as are first members of the Church (which must necessarily run the *Church* upon that *Temptation* to feele the pulse of the *Court* concerning a *delinquent Magistrate*, before they dare proceed) I say let such Practices be brought to the

the *Touchstone* of the true frame of a *civill commonweale*, and the the true frame of the *Spirituall* or *Christian commonweale*, the *Church of Christ*, and it will be seen what *wood, hay*, and *stubble* of *carnall policie* and *humane inventions* in *Christs* matters are put in place of the *precious stones, gold* and *silver* of the *Ordinances* of the most *High* and only wise *God*.

The inventions of men in swarving from the true essentialls of Civill and Spirituall Commonweales.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, We are now arrived at their last Head: the Title is this, *viz.*

16. and last Head examined.

Their power in the Liberties and Priviledges of these Churches.

"First, all Magistrates ought to be chosen out of Church-"members, *Exod.*18.21. *Deut.*17.15. *Prov.*29.2. When the Righ-"teous rule, the people rejoyce.

"Secondly, that all free men elected, be only Church-members.

1. Because if none but Church members should rule, then o-"thers should not choose, because they may elect others beside "Church members.

2. From the patterne of *Israel*, where none had power to choose "but only Israel, or such as were joyned to the people of God.

3. If it shall fall out, that in the Court consisting of Magistrates "and Deputies, there be a dissent between them which may hin-"der the common good, that they now returne for ending the "same, to their first principles, which are the Free men, and let "them be consulted with.

A great Question, viz. Whether only Church members (that is as is intended) Godly persons in a particular Church estate, be only eligible or to be chosen for Magistrates.

Truth. In this *Head* are 2 branches: First concerning the choice of *Magistrates*, that such ought to be chosen as are *Church members*: for which is quoted, *Exod.*18.21. *Dut.*17.15. *Proverbs* 19.29.

Unto which I answer: It were to be wished, that since the point is so weighty, as concerning the *Pilots* and *Steersmen* of *Kingdoms* and *Nations*, &c. on whose *abilitie, care* and *faithfulnesse* depends most commonly the *peace* and *safety* of the *commonweales* they sail in: I say it were to be wished that they had more fully explained what they

they intend by this *Affirmative*, viz. *Magistrates* ought to be chosen out of *Church members*.

For if they intend by this [*Ought to be chosen*] a *necessitie* of *convenience*, viz. that for the greater advancement of *common utilitie* and *rejoycing* of the people, according to the place quoted (*Prov.* 29. 2.) it were to be desired, prayed for, and peaceably endeavored, then I readily assent unto them.

But if by this [*Ought*] they intend such a *necessitie* as those Scriptures quoted imply, viz. that people shall sin by choosing such for *Magistrates* as are not members of *Churches*; as the *Israelites* should have sinned, if they had not (according to *Jethro's* counsell, *Exod.* 18. and according to the *command* of *God*, Deut. 18.) chosen their *Judges* and *Kings* within themselves in *Israel*: then I propose these necessary *Queries*.

Lawfull Civil States, where Churches of Christ are not.

First whether those are not lawfull *Civill combinations*, *societies*, and *communions* of men, in *Townes*, *Cities*, *States* or *Kingdoms*, where no *Church* of *Christ* is resident, yea where his name was never yet heard of: I adde to this, that Men of no small note, skilfull in the *state* of the *World*, acknowledge, that the *World* divided into 30 parts, 25 of that 30 have never yet heard of the name of *Christ*: If their *Civill polities* and *combinations* be not lawfull, (because they are not *Churches*, and their *Magistrates Church* members) then *disorder*, *confusion*, and all *unrighteousnes* is lawfull, and pleasing to *God*.

The world being divided into 30 parts, 25 never heard of Christ.

Secondly, whether in such States or Commonweales, where a Church or Churches of Christ are resident, such persons may not lawfully succeed to the Crown or Government, in whom the feare of God (according to *Jethroes* councell) cannot be discerned, nor are brethren of the Church, according to *Deut.* 17.) but only are fitted with Civill and Morall abilities, to manage the Civill affaires of the Civill State.

Lawfull heires of Crownes & Civill Government, although not Christian and godly.

Thirdly, since not many *wise* and *Noble* are called, but the *poore* receive the *Gospel*, as *God* hath chosen the *poore* of the *World* to be *rich* in *Faith*, 1 Cor. 1 Jam. 2. Whether it may not ordinarily come to passe, that there may not be found in a true *Church* of *Christ* (which sometimes consisteth but of few persons) persons fit to be either *Kings* or *Governours*, *&c.* whose *civill office* is no lesse difficult then the office of a *Doctor* of *Physick*, a *Master* or *Pilot* of a *Ship*, or a *Captaine* or *Commander* of a *Band* or *Army* of men: for which

Few Christians wise and noble, and qualified for affaires of State.

which services, the children of *God* may be no wayes *qualified*, though otherwise excellent for the *feare* of *God*, and the *knowledge* and *Grace* of the *Lord Iesus*.

4. If *Magistrates* ought (that is, ought only) to be chosen out of the *Church*, I demand if they ought not also to be *dethroned* and *deposed*, when they cease to be of the *Church*, either by voluntary departure from it, or by *excommunication* out of it, according to the bloody *tenents* and *practice* of some *Papists*, with whom the *Protestants* (according to their *principles*) although they seeme to abhor it, doe absolutely agree? Some Papists and some Protestants agree in deposing of Magistrates.

5. Therefore lastly, I ask if this be not to turne the *World* upside down, to turne the *World* out of the *World*, to pluck up the *roots* and *foundations* of all *common Societie* in the *World*? to turne the *Garden* and *Paradice* of the *Church* and *Saints* into the *Field* of the *Civill State* of the *World*, and to reduce the *World* to the first *chaos* or *confusion*.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Peace. DEare *Truth*, thou *conquerest*, and shalt *triumph* in season: but some will say, How answer you those Scriptures alleadged?

Truth. I have fully and at large declared the vast *differences* between that holy *Nation* of typicall *Israel*, and all other *Lands* and *Countries*, how unmatchable then and now, and never to be paralleld, but by the true *Israel* and particular *Churches* of *Christ*, residing in all parts (and under the severall *civill Governments*) of the *world*: In which *Churches*, the *Israel* of *God*, and *Kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, such only are to be chosen spirituall *Officers* and *Governours*, to manage his *Kingly* power and *authoritie* in the *Church*, as are (according to the Scriptures quoted, not *Pope*, *Bishops*, or *Civill powers*, but) from amongst themselves, *Brethren*, fearing *God*, hating *covetousnesse* or filthy *lucre*, according to those golden *Rules* given by the *Lord Iesus*, 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1. Those Scriptures, Exod. 18 Deut. 17. & 18. &c. parallel'd in the true spirituall Israel, by 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

The want of discerning this true *parallel*, between *Israel* in the *type* then, and *Israel* the *antitype* now, is that *rock* whereon (through the *Lords* righteous *jealousie*, punishing the *World*, and chastising his people) thousands dash, and make wofull *Shipwrack*.

The second branch, viz. that all *Freemen* elected be only *Church members*, I have before shewne to be built on that sandy and dangerous *Ground* of *Israels patterne*: O that it may please the *Father* of *Lights* to discover this to all that fear his name! then would they not sin to save a *Kingdome*, nor run into the lamentable *breach* of *civill peace* and *order* in the *world*, nor be guilty of forcing *thousands* to *Hypocrisie*, in a *State worship*, nor of *prophaning* the holy name of *God* and *Christ*, by putting their *Names* and *Ordinances* upon *uncleane* and *unholy* persons: nor of shedding the *blood* of such *Heretick*s, &c. whom *Christ* would have enjoy longer *patience* and *permission* untill the *Harvest*: nor of the *blood* of the *Lord Iesus* himselfe, in his faithfull *Witnesses* of *Truth*: nor lastly, of the blood of so many hundred thousands slaughtred men, women, and children, by such *uncivill* and *unchristian wars* and *combustions* about the *Christian faith* and *Religion*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: before we part, I aske your faithfull helpe once more, to 2 or 3 Scriptures, which many alleadge, and yet we have not spoken of.

Truth. Speake on; here is some sand left in this our houre glasse of mercifull *opportunitie*: One *graine* of *Times* inestimable sand is worth a golden *mountaine*; let's not lose it.

The Ninevites Fast examined

Peace. The first is that of the *Ninevites* fast, commanded by the *King* of *Nineve* and his *Nobles*, upon the preaching of *Jonah*; succeeded by *Gods mercifull answer* in sparing of the Citie; and quoted with honorable *approbation* by the Lord *Jesus Christ*, Jonah 3. & Math. 12.

Truth. I have before proved, that even *Jehosaphats* fast (he being *King* of that *Nationall Church* and people of *Israel*) could not possibly be a *type* or *warrant* for every *King* or *Magistrate* in the *World* (whose Nations, Countries or Cities cannot be *Churches* of *God*, now in the *Gospel*, according to *Christ Jesus*:

Much lesse can this patterne of the *King* of *Nineve* and his *Nobles*, be a ground for *Kings* and *Magistrates* now, to force all their Subjects under them in the matters of *Worship*.

Peace. It will be said, why did *God* thus answer them?

Truth. Gods mercy in hearing doth not prove an *allow* right and according to rule.

It pleased God to heare the *Israelites* cry for *Flesh*, and afterward for a *King*, given both in *anger* to them.

It

It pleased God to heare *Ahabs* prayer, yea and the prayer of the *Devils* (Luc. 8.) although their *persons* and *prayers* in themselves abominable.

If it be said, why did *Christ* approve this example?

Object.

I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* did not approve the *King* of *Ninevies* compelling all to Worship, but the men of *Nineves* repentance at the preaching of *Jonah*,

Answ.

Peace. It will be said, what shall *Kings* and *Magistrates* now doe in the plagues of *sword, famine, pestilence?*

Truth. Kings and Magistrates must be considered (as formerly) invested with no more *power* then the *people* betrust them with.

But no People can betrust them with any *spirituall* power in matters of *worship*, but with a Civill power belonging to their *goods* and *bodies*.

2. *Kings* and *Magistrates* must be considered as either *godly* or *ungodly*.

If *ungodly*, his own and peoples duty is *Repentance*, and reconciling of their persons unto God, before their *sacrifice* can be accepted. Without *Repentance* what have any to doe with the *covenant* or *promise* of *God?* Psal. 50.

Againe, if *Godly*, they are to humble themselves, and beg mercies for themselves and *people*.

Secondly, upon this *advantage* & *occasion*, they are to stir up their people (as possibly they may) to *Repentance*: but not to force the *consciences* of *people* to *worship*.

Object.

If it be said, What must be attended to in this *example?*

Answ.

Two things are most *eminent* in this *example*.

First, the great worke of *Repentance*, which *God* calls all men unto, upon the true preaching of his *Word*.

How England and London may yet be spared.

Secondly, the nature of that true *repentance* whether *Legall* or *Evangelicall*: The people of *Ninevie* turned from the *violence* that was in their hands; And confident I am, if this *Nation* shall turne (though but with a Legall repentance) from that violent persecuting or hunting each of other for *Religion* sake, (the greatest violence and hunting in the *wildernesse* of the whole *World*) even as *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* upon a *Legall repentance*, had continued untill *Christs* day; so consequently might *England, London*, &c. continue free from a generall *destruction* (upon such a turning from their *violence*) untill the *Heavens* and the whole *World* be with fire consumed.

Peace. The second Scripture is that Speech of the *Lord Christ*, *Luc.* 22.36. He that hath not a *sword*, let him sell his coat, and buy one.

Luc. 22. the selling of the Coat, to buy a Sword, discussed.

Truth. For the clearing of this *Scripture*, I must propose and reconcile that seeming contrary command of the *Lord Jesus* to *Peter* (*Mat.* 26.) Put up thy *sword* into his place, for all that take the *sword*, shall perish by it.

In the former Scripture (*Luc.* 22.) it pleased the *Lord Jesus*, speaking of his present trouble, to compare his former sending forth of his *Disciples* without scrip, &c. with that present condition and triall comming upon them, wherein they should provide both scrip and sword, &c.

Yet now first, when they tell him of two *swords*, he answers, It is *enough*: which shewes his former meaning was not literall, but figurative, foreshewing his present danger above his former.

Secondly, in the same case at the same time (*Mat.* 26.) commanding *Peter* to put on his sword, he gives a threefold *Reason* thereof.

1. (*vers.* 52.) from the *event* of it: for all that take the sword, shall perish by it.

2. The *needlesnes* of it: for with a word to his *Father*, he could have 12 *legions* of *Angels*.

3. The councell of *God* to be fulfilled in the Scripture: *Thus it ought to be.*

Peace. It is much questioned by some, what should be the meaning of *Christ Jesus* in that speech, All that take the *sword*, shall perish by the *sword*.

A threefold taking of the Sword.

Truth. There is a threefold taking of the *sword*: First, by *murtherous crueltie*, either of private persons, or secondly, publike States or Societies, in wrath or revenge each against other.

Secondly, a just and righteous taking of the *sword* in punishing offenders against the *Civill peace*, either more *personall*, private and ordinary; or more *publike*, Oppressors, Tyrants, Ships, Navies, &c. Neither of these can it be imagined that *Christ Jesus* intended to *Peter*.

Thirdly, There is therefore a 3. taking of the *sword*, forbidden to *Peter*, that is, for *Christ* and the Gospels cause, when Christ is in danger: which made *Peter* strike, &c.

Peace. It seemes to some most contrary to all true Reason, that *Christ*

Christ Jesus, Innocencie it selfe, should not be defended.

Truth. The foolishnes of *God* is wiser then the wisedome of Man.

It is not the purpose of *God*, that the Spirituall *battailes* of his *Son* shall be fought by *carnall weapons* and *persons*.

It is not his pleasure that the *World* shall flame on fire with *civill combustions*, for his *Sons* sake. It is directly contrary to the *nature* of *Christ Jesus*, his *Saints* and *Truths*, that *throats* of men (which is the highest *contrarietie* to *civill converse*) should be torne out for his sake, who most delighted to converse with the greatest sinners.

It is the councell of *God*, that his servants shall overcome by *weapons*, of a spirituall nature, *Revel.* 12. 11. And that all that take the *sword* of steele, shall perish.

Lastly, it is the Councell of *God*, that *Christ Jesus* shall shortly appeare a most glorious *Iudge* and *Revenger* against all his Enemies, when the *Heavens* and the *Earth* shall flee before his most glorious presence.

Peace. I shall propose the last *Scripture* much insisted on by many, for carnall weapons in spirituall cases, *Revel.* 17. 16. The 10 *hornes* which thou saweſt upon the *Beast*, these shall hate the *whore*, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her *flesh*, and shall burne her with *fire*. Revel. 17. 16. the Kings hating of the Whore, discussed.

Truth. Not to controvert with some, whether or no the *Beast* be yet risen and extant.

Nor secondly, whether either the *Beast*, or the *Hornes*, or the *Whore* may be taken literally for any corporall *Beast* or *Whore*.

Or thirdly, whether these 10 *Hornes* be punctually and exactly 10 *Kings*.

Or fourthly, whether those 10 *Hornes* signifie those many *Kings*, *Kingdomes*, and *Governments*, who have bowed down to the *Popes* yoake, and have committed fornication with that great *Whore* the *Church* of *Rome*.

Let this last be admitted (which yet will cost some work to cleer against all opposites:) Yet,

First, can the *Time* be now cleerly demonstrated to be come, &c?

Secondly, how will it be proved, that this hatred of this *Whore* shall be a true, *chaste*, *Christian* hatred against *Antichristian* whorish practices, &c?

Thirdly, or rather that this *hating* and *desolating* and *making naked* and *burning* shall arise, not by way of an *ordinance* warranted by the *institution* of *Christ Jesus*, but by way of *providence* when (as it useth to be with all *whores* and their *lovers*) the *Church* of *Rome* and her great *lovers* shall fall out, and by the righteous vengeance of *God* upon her, drunke with the *blood* of *Saints* or holy Ones, these mighty *fornicators* shall turne their *love* into *hatred*, which *hatred* shall make her a poore desolate naked Whore, torne and consumed, &c.

Peace. You know it is a great controversie how the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall thus deale with the *Whore* in the 17 Chap. and yet so bewaile her in the 18 Chapter.

Truth. If we take it that these *Kings* of the *Earth* shall first *hate*, and *plunder*, and *teare*, and *burne* this Whore, and yet afterward shall relent and bewaile their cruell dealing toward her: Or else, that as some Kings deale so terribly with her, yet others of those Kings shall bewaile her.

If either of these two answers stand, or a better be given, yet none of them can prove it lawfull for people to give power to their *Kings* and *Magistrates* thus to deale with them their subjects for their *conscience*; nor for *Magistrates* to assume a title more then the people betrust them with; nor for one people out of *conscience* to *God*, and for *Christ* his sake, thus to kill and slaughter and burne each other: However it may please the Righteous Judge, according to the famous types of *Gideons* and *Jehosaphats* battells, to permit in *Justice*, and to order in *Wisdome* these mighty and mutuall slaughters each of other.

Peace. We have now (deare *Truth*) through the gracious hand of God clambered up to the top of this our tedious Discourse.

Truth. O 'tis mercy unexpressible that either *Thou* or *I* have had so long a breathing time, and that together!

Peace. If *English ground* must yet be *drunk* with *English blood*, O where shall *Peace* repose her wearied *head* and heavy *heart*?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, if thou finde welcome, and the *God* of *peace* miraculously please to quench these all-devouring flames, yet where shall *Truth* finde rest from cruell *persecutions*?

Peace. Oh, will not the *Authority* of holy *Scriptures*, the Commands and Declarations of the Sonne of *God*, therein produced by thee, together with all the lamentable *experiences* of former and pre-

preſent ſlaughters prevaile with the Sons of *Aden* (eſpecially with the *Sons* of *Peace*) to depart from the *dens* of *Lyons*, and mountaines of *Leopards*, and to put on the *bowels* (if not of *Chriſtianitie*, yet) of *Humanitie* each to other!

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Habacucks* Fiſhes keep their conſtant bloody game of *Perſecutions* in the Worlds mighty *Ocean*; the greater taking, plundring, ſwallowing up the leſſer: O happy he whoſe portion is the *God* of *Iacob*! who hath nothing to loſe under the *Sun*, but hath a *State*, a *Houſe*, an *Inheritance*, a *Name*, a *Crowne*, a *Life*, paſt all the *Plunderers*, *Raviſhers*, *Murtherers* reach and furie!

Peace. But loe! Who's here?

Truth. Our Siſter *Patience*, whoſe deſired company is as needfull as delightfull: 'Tis like the *Wolfe* will ſend the ſcattered *Sheep* in one: the common *Pirate* gathers up the looſe and ſcattered *Navie*: the ſlaughter of the *Witneſſes* by that bloody *Beaſt* unite the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*. The *God* of *Peace*, the *God* of *Truth* will ſhortly ſeale this *Truth*, and confirme this *Witnes*, and make it evident to the whole *World*.

That the Doctrine of *Perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*, is moſt evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of *Chriſt Ieſus* the *Prince* of *Peace*. Amen.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAge 23. line 28. *for* this, *read* that. p. 31. l. ult. his ſoule. p. 32. l. 12. *read* mouth. *ibid. r.* perſon. p. 35. l. 16. *r* turned off, or looſed from. p. 37. l. 8. *for* to, *read* doe. p. 38 l. 2. *dele* affirme. p. 41. l. 22. his perilous ſoule. p. 43. l. 20. *r.* or l. ult. Anſwerer. p. 44. l. 28. be cloſer. p. 49. l. 1. laſt p. 57. l. 22. cut. l. 24. l affirme that Juſtice. p. 58. l. 5. the lying. p. 98. l. 6. *read*, or doe theſe p. 114. l. 29. *r.* the 31 queſtion. p. 119 l. 10. *r.* members. p. 139. l. 9. immunitie. p. 161. l. 28. or Chriſt. p. 214. l. 36. *dele* ſhall. p. 225. l. 19. the Churches of God. 225. l. 25. not might not.